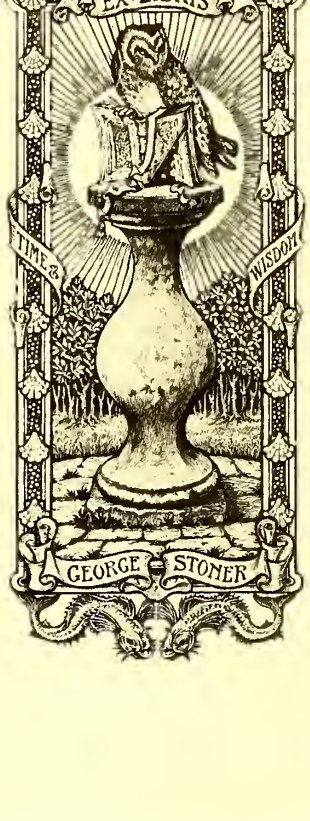
THE CERAMICS OF SWANSEA AND NANTGARW.

W. TURNER.



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With my dearest love

to dearest

Leona.

From your

Muffie

THE CERAMICS

OF

SWANSEA AND NANTGARW.

"Y gwir yn erbyn y byd" (The truth against the world).

Welsh National Motto.

"Nothing is more delightful than the light of truth."

Marcus Tullius Cicero.

"Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a duty."

Madame de Staël.

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The Ceramics

OF

Swansea and Nantgarw:

A History of the Factories.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE ARTISTS AND OTHERS,
NOTES ON THE MERITS OF THE PORCELAINS,
THE MARKS THEREON, ETC.

BY

WILLIAM TURNER, F.S.S.

ALSO

AN APPENDIX ON THE MANNERISMS OF THE ARTISTS.

By ROBERT DRANE, F.L.S.

ILLUSTRATED.

London:
BEMROSE & SONS, LIMITED, 23, OLD BAILEY;
AND DERBY.
1897.

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PREFACE.

THE reason for troubling the public with this small contribution to Art literature may be summed up in a few sentences.

In 1873-4 I was engaged by the editor of the *Nautical Magazine* to write a series of articles on "The Great Ports of the United Kingdom." Among others, Swansea came in for treatment, and the editor—the late much-esteemed Thomas Gray, C.B.—suggested that Mr. Dillwyn's famous porcelain should be mentioned. I confess I knew nothing of the subject then. However, I set to work. I consulted that living cyclopædia, Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, and Mr. Lean, the then Librarian of the Free Library at that town, which was then my home. I managed to get together some facts, and, I must admit, some errors on the subject. That illustrates the weak points of what is often termed, for the want of a better phrase, "hack-writing." I have found this out, too, when consulting the works of some of the so-called "authorities" on the art of pottery and porcelain. A few years passed away and the thing slumbered. But during the "eighties" I happened to meet with a personal friend of the late Mr. W. H. Pardoe, of Nantgarw, and to get some reminiscences of that artist-potter. I also was informed by Mr. Ballinger, chief librarian, Free Library, Cardiff, that the committee desired to get some particulars regarding Nantgarw, as they had some specimens in their museum, and proposed preparing a catalogue. I then started more earnestly to work,

and, in the next few years, as opportunity occurred, visited the shrines, so to say, of our local porcelain saints; read up the principal authorities on pottery generally; got into a large correspondence on the subject; searched old graveyards and copied the legends on their tombs; interviewed octogenarians, and even nonogenarians who were personally acquainted with the subject; made extracts from old registers of births, deaths, and marriages in order to get at precise dates and facts. In the course of these researches I have visited the British Museum, the South Kensington Museum, and the one in Jermyn Street, London, where there are excellent collections of both Swansea and Nantgarw ware; and have seen others, both public and private, at Edinburgh, Liverpool, Swansea, and Cardiff, etc. I have visited the potteries of Coalport, Derby, and Worcester in order to trace the annals of Billingsley and Walker. The British Museum, National Gallery, and the Public Record Office, London, have also been drawn upon. During these peregrinations, and whilst at Liverpool in 1887 on official business, I was surprised to receive an invitation from the Swansea Scientific Society to read a paper on the subject before that body. Unfortunately, at that time I had only devoted attention to the Nantgarw section of this work, and what I knew of Swansea was very meagre. My indefatigable correspondent—Inspector David Williams, Board of Trade Service, Swansea—had, no doubt, mentioned the matter, and hence the invitation. I consented, however, to give what I had, and the day—the 27th August, 1887—was made a holiday one for the members, who were to partake of the hospitality of the owner of Clyne Castle, near Swansea—the seat of W. Graham Vivian, Esq., whose collection of articles of *vertu* is certainly one of the best of any private one in the kingdom. Under sunny skies, surrounded by lovely scenery, on the lawn of the mansion, the assembly of about one hundred and fifty heard my paper

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BAXTER.

read. Mr. Vivian presided, and made us all happy by his courtesy and kindness. The paper was printed *in extenso* in the *Cambrian* newspaper of Swansea. Shortly afterwards the Cardiff Naturalists' Society asked that it should be read to them, which was done in the Spring of 1888. The paper was printed at length in the "Transactions" of each Society. Subsequently several gentlemen—amongst them the Rev. Mr. Winks, Messrs. Drane, Storrie, and Ballinger, Cardiff; and the late Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, of South Kensington Museum—urged me to publish a monograph on the subject. Mr. Smith was an authority on ceramic matters. He was commissioned by the British Government, on several occasions, to report on the Pottery Sections of various foreign Exhibitions. In an interview with him at South Kensington, he gave me some good information, and much sound advice as to the best mode of pursuing an inquiry into the matter. After reading my Swansea paper, he was kind enough to write to me thus:—"I thank you for being good enough to send me the report of your paper . . . . on Swansea and Nantgarw porcelain. . . . . I see enough to congratulate you on bringing together interesting facts, and throwing light on various matters—especially respecting Nantgarw porcelain—which have not been dealt with as they required by previous investigators. I hope you will have your paper printed *in extenso*, that it may exist in a more durable form than in the pages of a newspaper. I am glad if any conversation of mine should have encouraged you, even in some slight degree, to persevere in enquiries which have produced results interesting to all who take pleasure in our early pottery and porcelain manufactures."

He had said to me previously, it was a curious fact that nearly every British pottery of note had a monograph thereon excepting Swansea and Nantgarw, in some respects, he added, the most interesting of them all.

Another most excellent authority on such matters was the late Mr. William Edkins, decorator, etc., of Bristol. He assisted Mr. Hugh Owen in preparing his capital book, entitled "Two Centuries of Ceramics in Bristol." Mr. Edkins gave me some excellent points, especially about Mr. Thomas Pardoe, and was quite enthusiastic over my humble attempt to elucidate the annals of the Welsh pot-works. He wrote to me on the 29th September, 1887, in these comforting terms: "Pray accept my best thanks for your kindness in sending the two *Cambrian* newspapers, containing your interesting paper on 'The Old Swansea and Nantgarw China,' which I have read with *great* interest, and intend to do so again and again. It is most interesting, and as one reads the document, one cannot do otherwise than feel convinced that what you have written is correct. You give *authority* for what you state."

Mr. Edkins had a splendid collection of porcelain, etc., which realised over £5,000 at the sale. It is melancholy to think that in the space of a few years, two such excellent men as he and Mr. Soden Smith have been removed for ever from our little Art-world, which they adorned by their unobtrusive learning and unselfish devotion to it.

Mr. Binns, in the "Catalogue of Worcester Porcelain," says: "Pottery is the oldest and most widely diffused of the arts. . . . The modern collector is in excellent company, *e.g.*, kings and queens, poets and statesmen, artists and soldiers." That is profoundly true, but, alas! they soon pass away, and "the place that knew them knows them no more for ever." Such is life and—death!

Notwithstanding these urgent appeals, I was unwilling then to rush into print. I felt that I had not gathered sufficient material to make a decent-sized "Monograph." I remembered with somewhat of awe what Professor Church said in his

Kensington Handbook on English Porcelain, namely—that the only exhaustive works on English potteries hitherto published were those of Haslem on Derby; Hugh Owen on Bristol; and Binns on Worcester. Miss Meteyard's capital work on Wedgwood might have been included in this little list. But the Professor is right in stating that of the other English pot-works "our knowledge . . . remains fragmentary."

Since my papers were read, however, I have had a real windfall in the shape of a copy of the Memorial of the Nantgarw Potters addressed to our Government in 1814. The particulars are given in the body of this monograph. The document shed a flood of light on the enquiry, and helped to clear up doubtful points. Much other information has been obtained as time passed on, especially about the Swansea Works; and as the two factories were, for a time at least, something like twins, it seems to me now that sufficient has been obtained to compile a book containing real facts and sound information without "padding."

Nevertheless, it is with some misgiving that I launch my little literary bark into, it may be "a sea of troubles," for I cannot help feeling that some more experienced and skilful hand could have arranged the materials more lucidly, and given them greater luminosity in the discourse.

It only remains for you, "my masters"—the grand jury of the public—who love and are interested in such a field of enquiry, to give your verdict, which I humbly hope will be one of justice tempered with mercy.

Here I take the opportunity of thanking most profoundly those many friends who have encouraged or assisted me in this long task, extending over much of the spare moments of about twenty-two years, and a large part of the year 1896 almost exclusively. Some of those friends, alas! have fallen by the way, and their bright spirits have gone to "that bourne whence

no traveller returns." Of the survivors, I regret I cannot name them all individually, they are so numerous. At Swansea alone, in the summer of last year (1896), I interviewed over one hundred persons of all classes of society, from whom I received much information and courteous treatment. There are two men, however, whom I *must* name, otherwise my book would be incomplete. The first is Mr. Robert Drane, F.L.S., of Cardiff, President of the Cardiff Naturalist Society. Mr. Drane has been my mentor, my "guide, philosopher, and friend" in this matter since 1874. Never slackening, never refusing, always encouraging, always ready to pour out his stores of ceramic knowledge, and spend his time, labour, and money in assisting to unearth some new or hidden fact. I may truly say that Mr. Drane ought to be dubbed the joint author of this volume, for he has been largely its inspiration. It was he who suggested getting the "mannerisms" of the artists copied in order to safeguard the collector and the connoisseur. It was he to whom I looked for guidance in deciding upon doubtful points, as to the work of any particular painter on porcelain. On him I lay this rather heavy responsibility, and he consents to bear it. An interesting dissertation on the "mannerisms" will be found herein emanating from his prolific pen. There are also numerous "footnotes" of his scattered over the pages, shedding rays of light upon dark questions, and in that clear and lucid style of which he is a master.

The other helper is Mr. David Williams, Inspector in the Board of Trade Service at Swansea. Since the year 1887, when I began seriously to look into the question as it affected Swansea, Mr. Williams has been ever ready to help. I have received very many letters from him containing information of the most trustworthy nature. He searched through the pages of the *Cambrian* newspaper for the years of its existence—and it dates from 1804—in order to get accurate knowledge for me.

To these two untiring men I am under an immense obligation. I acknowledge that I have been blessed in acquiring two such friends, and I sincerely state that without them this book would never have been published. To them I owe a deep sense of gratitude.

To the scores of others who have so willingly shown me their collections, told me of their facts, and given me good advice and information, I also make this public ackowledgment, and shall remember them with feelings of great indebtedness.

To those ladies and gentlemen who have by their subscribed orders for copies enabled me to publish the work, I also return my best thanks.

In conclusion, What is it that is claimed for this book? In the first place, it is the history of two factories in which the very best of our British porcelains were produced. Secondly, all the facts it contains have been carefully verified. Nothing has been taken on mere "hearsay" evidence; and the tale is told in the simplest words, so that there may be no waste. Thirdly, and specially, it is illustrated by one of the latest developments in Art Ceramics, namely, coloured collotypes, in order to show the "mannerisms" of the artists, so as to protect the collector and connoisseur.

In order to show that the public are getting real value for their money, it may be well even at the risk of being considered egotistical, to quote a part of what Mr. Drane has said in one of the Prospectus circulars. He wrote: "I have read the MS. of Mr. Turner's proposed book on the Swansea and Nantgarw porcelain. I am, personally, very well aware of the labour he has expended upon it, and of his dogged and persistent patience in hunting down the errors which have gained currency by repetition, and in verifying his own facts to the smallest details. In the technical part of his labours, where my knowledge of

the wares might have been of service, I have willingly assisted him, for I have the keenest sympathy with the man whose work is so good and so thoroughly conscientious. I think the price, £1 11s. 6d., is fixed too low to subscribers, for if it had been £2 2s., there is not a collector, who knows his business, but must feel that he might easily without this book be deluded, by some one or other of the forgeries with which the market abounds, and in a single purchase lose more than its price."

W. T.

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ERRATA.

At p. 47, line 8, read "it was possible, but unlikely," instead of "it is not unlikely."

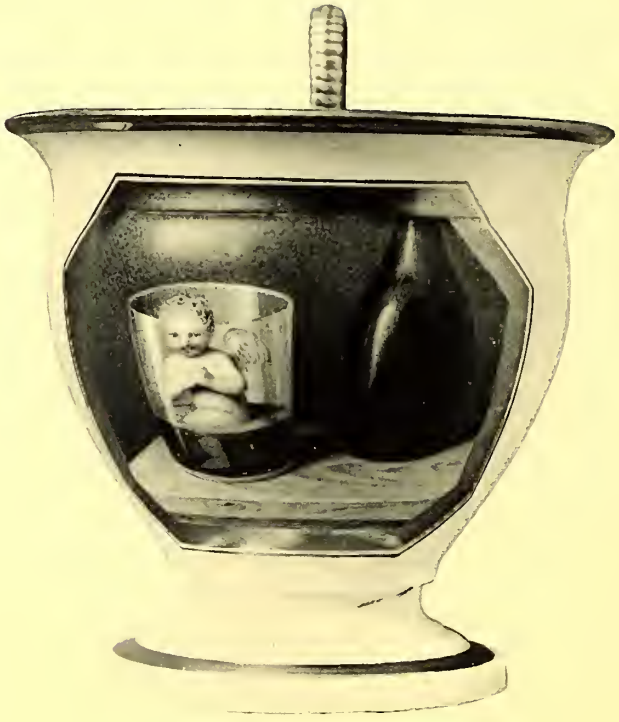
At p. 49, line 20, read "D. J. Evans" instead of "P. J. Evans."

At p. 62 the footnote is cancelled and the plaque withdrawn, as it was found subsequently to be the work of George Horatio Evans, and not that of David Evans.

At p. 100, lines 12 and 13, read "about two years" instead of "three or four years."

At p. 213, lines 22 and 23, the words "I cannot trace his work" do not now altogether apply as since they were printed a plaque, represented by Plate XXXIII., has been found. The weight of evidence is in favour of it being the workmanship of Evan Evans.

At p. 275, line 17, read "Pardoe, Bristol," instead of "T. Pardoe, Bristol."



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THE CERAMICS

OF

SWANSEA AND NANTGARW.

INTRODUCTORY.

SOME people may be Philistinic enough to cry "*cui bono?*" What is the use of writing such a work as this? Of course, in a field of inquiry of any kind, there are always cynics to be found who will sneer and view the labour expended with the most jaundiced and sceptical eyes. Our cynical poet, Pope, says:

> "Men, some to business; some to pleasure take,
> But . . . . ."

Ah! I will not quote the second line, it is ungallant; but the first is true. It might be extended, for some take to the study of Ceramics; and some—don't. The former class have often been stigmatised, sneeringly, as "china-maniacs." But, what say some of the leaders of this study? Mr. Binns says: "The extraordinary mania for pottery at the present time is not peculiar to our age. The history of our Art throughout the world teaches us that it has been cultivated in all ages, and under every variety of circumstances, and, at times, under the most distinguished

patronage. There are many reasons why this important, and truly beautiful art should engage the attention of the people. We regard it as the graphic medium of antiquity. The clay, so sensitive in the hands of the potter, exhibits the most subtle actor's will, and presents to us the mind and character of ancient peoples, who may have left no other trace behind. The study, therefore, is neither deficient in dignity, nor limited to trifling investigations, nor rewarded with insufficient results.

"A knowledge of the origin and progress of any branch of art must always be of immense importance to its future development and improvement. This is particularly true of the art of working in clay, both from its universal diffusion, and from the indestructible nature of its products."

This was written only a few years ago. Mr. Binns is the practical chief of the famous Worcester Royal China Works.

Sir Henry Doulton is another authority on Ceramics. In a lecture given at the Royal Institution, London, on the 17th February, 1888, he said: "Pottery, from its indestructibility, has the advantage of almost all other arts in the comparative completeness of its history."

The learned Brongniart, in his "Traité des Arts Ceramiques," says: "I know of no art which presents, in the study of its practice, its theory and its history, so many interesting and varied considerations as the Ceramic Art."

These quotations will suffice to show the importance of the subject, as viewed by lovers and students of the Art of Pottery. They may not justify the publication of every book thereon, but they certainly encourage the attempt to elucidate such an inquiry as the one now in hand. The lesson taught us by the manufacture of porcelain at Nantgarw and Swansea is unique in one respect, to say nothing of others. By a consensus of opinion in the minds of many experts, the finest specimens made, especially at

the former place, reached the highest pitch of excellence. It may, therefore, be said to have been the crowning point of one phase of the social evolution of the human race. How? Well, Professor Dawkins (*vide* the *Fortnightly Review*, for October, 1892) said that the Iberians occupied these islands in the Neolithic age, and that they were the first makers of pottery. If so, is it not remarkable that in "these islands" the very best specimens of the art should have been produced—at Nantgarw? What a tremendous interval there was in this development may be judged from the fact (as scientists tell us) that it was during the Stone age when this island was separated from France. That age, Sir John Lubbock suggests, was divided into two sections—the Palæolithic and the Neolithic. In the remains of the former no traces of pottery exist; in the latter there are plenty of them. "The National Encyclopædia" states that—"The art of making pottery seems to have been 'skilfully exercised' in the Neolithic period. There is, however, no trace of the potter's wheel. Doubtless, the ware was shaped by the hand and sun-dried." In this connection I have a remarkable "modern instance." My friend, Mr. Drane, has a rude brown clay drinking vessel. To the uninitiated it might seem to belong to the Neolithic age. The facts are these: the late Admiral Bedford, whilst surveying on the west coast of Scotland, visited a crofter's cottage, and, seeing some earthenware, asked if it were ancient British. The "wifie" replied that she had made it herself. The Admiral was sceptical. However, she went to a bed of clay and brought some of it, mixed it with milk, formed a cylinder with her hand, and dried it before the fire, turning it as it baked. "Necessity is the mother of invention." This poor woman was not visited by "Muggers" (as the gipsy-vendors of crockery are called in the North), and hence had to make her own "services." She was an off-shoot of the Neolithic age. The incident illustrates the infancy of the

Ceramic Art, so highly developed at Nantgarw and Swansea. Another curious coincidence is that the remains of the Palæolithic man (but no pottery) were found in a cave at Gower, near Swansea, many years ago. But, in the Swiss Pile buildings—the remains of the Lake dwellers—and in the Danish kitchen middens, there are numerous "finds" of pottery of the Neolithic age.

The invention of the wheel is attributed to the Chinese. From China it extended to Egypt, Scythia, Bactria, Arabia, and Africa; again, into Greece, Italy, and Etruria; ultimately spreading over Europe. The form of it, as seen in the tombs at Thebes, almost exemplifies that used at the present day in the villages of India, wherein the potter is an institution. A specimen of him and his wheel is given in the Countess of Aberdeen's clever little periodical "*Onward and Upward*," for November, 1892. It is mentioned in the Bible (see Chronicles i. 4, 23), the period being about 3,400 years ago. It is also mentioned by Plato in his "Republia," Jowett's edition, pp. 157 and 158, wherein the "divine" Greek says that the "potters' boys look on for a time before they touch the wheel."

The Egyptians, if they did not invent porcelain, apparently first made glass. They also coated earthenware with a vitreous substance. In the Slade Department of the British Museum I have seen an amulet of glass with the pronomen of Antef IV. on it. Drovelle places him about 2500 B.C. It has the head of a lion or panther cut on it; and is the oldest piece of glass known. There is little question, however, that the Chinese were the first to make real porcelain, at a period between 206 B.C. and 87 A.D. It was in common use in 600 A.D., and reached its most perfect form in China in A.D. 1368-1644. It is supposed that they first made it artificially before discovering the true kaolin. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo saw the manufacture of it at Kinsai. He brought home specimens; and then commenced an anxious

search, by the Europeans, for the secret of making it. The Chinese would not disclose the secret, but evaded inquiries by stating that it was prepared from sea shells, egg shells, etc., which were buried for a hundred years before being used for porcelain purposes. Hence, some men thought the name was thus derived; namely, that the expression *pour cent années*, by mutation, was corrupted into "porcelain." But this theory is considered a wrong inference by the authorities on the subject, and rather that the name was derived from the Italian word "porcellana," the cowrie shell, which in turn derives its name from "porcella," a little pig. (See Professor Church's writings on the subject.)

The Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. Specimens of Chinese porcelain had found their way to Europe previously; but it was only then, and, subsequently, that this precious production was imported in any quantity. The Chinese deceit lasted a long time in reference to the receipt for making this fine ware. They had long found the true kaolin or "china clay." The Europeans, however, followed their example in first making artificial porcelain, viz., at Florence, in 1580. The first production of it in England is said to rest with Mr. John Dwight, at Fulham, London, in the year 1671. In the eighteenth century kaolin, or china clay, was found in Europe, and soon superseded the artificial bodies. At Pinxton and Nantgarw, however, the use of the artificial body was revived by Billingsley, who had a special receipt, or receipts, of his own invention, and these gave Nantgarw paste—an improvement on the Pinxton body—a distinctive character of its own.

(See Appendix "C" for receipts and remarks by authorities on "hard" and "soft" paste bodies.)

PANEL (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY BAXTER.

THE SWANSEA WORKS.

THE oldest pottery was the "Cambrian." It was situated on the east side of the street called "The Strand," on the site of the Graigola Patent Fuel Works. The land belongs to the Corporation of Swansea. The same site was originally that of a Copper Works, being the second of the kind, in a chronological sense, situated on the banks of the Tawe, and the third in Wales. The first lease granted for the erection of the Pottery was dated 19th September, 1764,* from the Burgesses of Swansea to "William Coles, Cadoxton, Neath, Gentleman." Shortly, the conditions were: A forty-one years' lease at £3 5s. per annum for a site extending from the south bank of Nant Bwrla and the highway leading to the forest on the west, down to within ten feet of low water of the river Tawe in the east; to pull down the old Copper Works, and to make buildings to carry on the manufacture of Stoneware and Earthenware; or other factories, except copper or lead smelting. The first ground rent was due at Michaelmas, 1765; and, by entries in the Corporation accounts, appears to

* Mr. L. W. Dillwyn wrote to Dr. Lardner, on the 5th June, 1849, that he "believed" it was in the year 1750 that Earthenware was first made at Swansea. Dr. Simeon Shaw, in his work on "The Chemistry of the Compounds used in Porcelain," etc., published in 1837, stated that it was "about 1750" when the Swansea Pottery was commenced. Marryat, Jewitt, Chaffers, and others have followed this cue, and it is only now, for the first time, that the exact date is made known to the public.

On the 2nd July, 1764, at a meeting of Council, it was stated, *inter alia*, that Mr. Robert Morris surrendered the lease of the old Copper Works; and that it was agreed to grant a transfer of it to Mr. Wm. Coles, of Cadoxton, near Neath, "Ironmaster." The entry was signed by Jas. Thomas (Portreeve), Gabriel Powell, David Vaughan (Aldermen), Henry Squire, Wm. Davies, Thomas Maddock, Robert Anderson, John Hopkin, and Matthew Thomas (Councillors), countersigned by the Clerk, Roger Pine ("Common Attorney").

have been duly paid on that date, in 1766 and 1767, as for the "Lower Copper Works." At Michaelmas, 1768, the entry is "for a pot-house with its app'nts, late the Copper Works." It is evident, therefore, that the removal of the old buildings and the erection of the new ones had taken up a period of three to four years. In 1769 (Michaelmas term) the phraseology is altered, and the entry is for "an earthenware house," which indicates the class of manufacture then carried on. No doubt it would take some time to clear away the old buildings, but not so long as for the erection of the new. I assume, therefore, that the Pottery was rather an extensive one to begin with. I know that Mr. Ll. Jewitt has described it as a small one. But I am supported in my contention by the terms of an advertisement, which appeared in 1783, in which it is described as "a very extensive pottery," and having "well-constructed cones." In 1791 a sketch was made of it. I have seen a copy, and no less than four large "Ovals," "Cones," or "Kilns" are visible. It is possible, however, that in the engraving of 1791 the extensions made by Mr. Haynes are included.

The next incident of an authentic nature is that in February, 1783, the Pottery was offered for sale in terms of the following advertisement * :—

"POTTERY AND MILLS.

"To be sold, a very capital set of Works, well calculated for the pottery, glass, or any other business, wherein well-constructed cones are necessary. These Works have been built within these few years, and have been employed in very extensive pottery and earthenware manufacture. They are situated at Swansea, in Glamorganshire, the most flourishing port in that part of the island, and have every convenience for carrying on the present,

* *Vide* Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. ii., p. 435.

or any similar business. Coals of a most excellent quality are brought into the works for less than 5s. per ton; Teignmouth clay for 12s. per ton; and flints for 20s. per ton, and may be landed at the door of the works from vessels of 300 tons. The County, being full of excellent coals, and there being several excellent manufactories of copper, lead, tin, etc., etc., on the river, the port of Swansea is resorted to by great numbers of ships from the West of England, Ireland, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Norway, by which means advantageous connections are already formed, and may be easily extended. The County is very populous, provisions in great plenty, and labour cheap. There are two excellent water-mills included in the premises, for grinding the flints, one of which is more than sufficient for the Works. The other may be very advantageously altered to a grist mill, not being above a quarter of a mile from Swansea, and at present the inhabitants of that populous town are under the necessity of sending their corn above three miles to be ground. The purchaser may be accommodated with a good dwelling house, garden, stable, and some pasture ground close to the Works. The present proprietor accidentally became possessed of the Works, and is settled in a very different way of business at a hundred miles distance, which is the reason of the premises being disposed of.

"Further particulars may be obtained by applying to Mr. John Miers, Merchant, London; Messrs. J. & W. Carr, Merchants, Bristol; Mr. Edward Coles, on the premises; or Mr. John Coles, at the Iron Warehouse, Gloucester." *

* In the advertisement it is stated that the "present proprietor" (? John Coles) "accidentally became possessed of the Works." The probability is that William Coles, of Cadoxton, Neath, who had leased the premises in 1764, had died, and that his heir (? John Coles) had become possessed of them. They may have been father and son, or brothers; and Edward Coles, perhaps being the younger, was placed in charge. There is a tradition that the family belonged to the Society of Friends. That is extremely likely, as both of their successors—Haynes and Dillwyn—were of the same persuasion originally. It is surprising to find such a number of "Friends" who were leading merchants in those days on both sides of the Bristol Channel.

This interesting statement is notable, not only for the account given of the old pot-works, but because of the light thrown upon the trade of Swansea generally, at that distant date of more than a century ago. No doubt there is a tone of exaggeration, with which advertisements are tinged even in our own times. The extent of business could not have been very great, considering that the population of Swansea at the first regular National Census, in 1801, was only 6,831. Nevertheless, it is of interest to know that the old port traded with so many countries, even then.

Under Mr. Coles, it is recorded by Chaffers, *vide* "Marks and Monograms," that a beautiful salt-glaze stoneware was made. It was of extreme lightness, and was produced in the form of tea cups, saucers, jugs, etc. It was painted in vivid enamel colours, with landscapes, costume figures, flowers and animals. The mannerism was rough and careless, but very effective. The forms of the pieces were good and carefully modelled, having neat, pearled borders, with double twisted handles. Some of them were marked "Cambrian Pottery," but the majority were unsigned. Dr. Diamond, the famous collector of china, etc., had a specimen which was made there in the period between 1780 and 1790. It is possible that Rothwell worked upon that description of the old pottery products at Swansea.

In this connection it is of interest to quote the following paragraph from the *Cambria Daily Leader*, of 8th April, 1893, as it relates to the old flint mill, which was used at the very inception of the "Cambrian" pot-works—the earliest in the Swansea District.

"THE LAST OF THE SWANSEA POTTERY.

"The old Flint Mill, the pile of old ruins which, lying snugly at the base of Aberdyberthi Bridge, attracts the attention

of so many of the passengers of the Tramway Company, is to be razed to the ground. Councillor J. M. Mayne, to whose enterprise the erection of the good-looking, but peculiarly built row of houses fronting the bridge is due, has purchased from the Duke of Beaufort the land on which the old mill stands, and within a month it will come down, and with it will go the last of the buildings connected with the manufacture of Swansea china, and some of the most interesting old landmarks of ancient Abertawe that are now extant. For four (?) centuries the old pile is said to have been in existence, being the greater part of the time in use as a corn mill, until the manufacture of ware sprang up here, and then it was used for grinding the flint with which was made the 'warranted iron ware,' for which Swansea was no less celebrated than for the delicate Dillwyn China sent out from the Pottery where the Graigola Fuel Works now stand. Considering its age, the walls are in an excellent state of preservation now, and round about are many mementos of the period of its useful existence; a great water-wheel, for instance, twenty feet in diameter, with a shafting—a solid casting—two feet thick. There are parts, too, of the old engine, which was constructed when steam power was introduced into the premises—the first engine that was ever turned out of the Neath Abbey Works—and a good many of the huge flint boulders with which the flint pebbles used to be ground, some of them half worn away by the friction, and with a surface as smooth as a lithographer's stone. Above the water-wheel there is a culvert, through which there used to come the water from the old mill pond, now dried up and made the site of a lime-kiln; and below there is another culvert to carry away the water to the canal—a culvert through which a man may wheel a barrow. The miller's house, and one of the great pan rooms in which the milling operations were carried on, are now occupied as a smithy by Mr. A. R. Davies, who has an

inexhaustible store of gossip about the premises. He remembers Mr. William Harris (the present proprietor of the Cambrian Dry Docks) telling the boys at the Cambrian School that he used to work there for 1s. 6d. a week, and he recalls how he used to hear his father talk of the keeper of the old Flint Mill. A somnambulist once walked into the pan room in his sleep and was crushed to death between the great cauldron and the wall. The straw shed he also recollects was, in 1841, the scene of one of the biggest fires that the town up to then had ever experienced, and, though it was afterwards rebuilt, many of the charred pieces of timber may still be seen."

The writer of the foregoing paragraph says that it was the "warranted iron ware" for which Swansea was "celebrated." This is a doubtful statement. It was more likely to be the "salt glaze stoneware," or the "opaque china" of a later period. Swansea was "celebrated" for its "opaque china" and for its real porcelain of the Dillwyn-Bevington period. At the same time it must be admitted that so many different sorts of pottery were produced there, that it is not surprising if an imitation (say) of Mason's famous ironstone ware was turned out at some time or other.

We do not know the exact time that the works were sold by Mr. Coles. It is, however, generally allowed by the authorities on pottery that George Haynes acquired them about the year 1790. He called them the "Cambrian Potteries," and enlarged the premises. In a short time afterwards Mr. Haynes invented and introduced the celebrated "opaque china." It is termed porcelain by Donovan, but that is a mistake. It was simply a refined earthenware. He makes the further error of predicting that it would vie "some day" with "Sieve pottery." His prophetic soul may have seen the real porcelain of 1814-17 arise in the then future, but though some of it rivalled the *pâte tendre* of Sèvres, it was never developed from the evolution of the "opaque china."

Nevertheless, the "opaque china" is described as a fine, hard compact, and beautiful body. Haynes also produced another "fine" white earthenware; a cream-coloured ware; and other varieties. He seems to have endeavoured to get first-class workmen around him. For instance, in 1790, an application was sent to the Derby China Works for a situation by Charles Stevens, who gave his address as at "The Pot-works, Swansea," and also at "Mr. Rothwell's, The Strand, Swansea." Stevens had been an apprentice originally with Mr. Taylor at Worcester. The "Mr. Rothwell" named was, doubtless, Thomas Rothwell—an excellent engraver, employed at the Cambrian Works—of whom more anon. Then there was Thomas Pardoe, who was married at Swansea in 1797. He was probably there a year or two before that event. He was a skilled painter on wares, and a glass stainer to boot; as his subsequent experience at Bristol and Nantgarw testifies. At that early period he was probably one of the principal "free-hand" decorators on Haynes' opaque china. Rothwell was an engraver. But there was also another free-hand painter there in the "nineties" of last century, and that was Evan Evans. I think, however, he must have been a second-grade hand at decoration, judging from the impressions I glean from the old workmen of the "Cambrian," who knew him in later life. In the beginning of the present century, Wm. Weston Young, David Evans, and other artists came on the scene, but they are dealt with more fully in other pages of this volume.

The clays used by Haynes are said, by Jewitt, to have been those of Bideford, and from Poole, Dorset.

In 1801-2 the Dillwyns acquired the Works. Mr. William Dillwyn came from Ipswich to buy them. Why did he come so far to do so? Probably, as in 1783, they were again advertised for sale. There were no local newspapers to do it in. Hence,

the Bristol, Gloucester, or London press would be invoked. It is pretty clear, however, that his son (Lewis Weston Dillwyn) was put in possession in 1802, Mr. G. Haynes continuing the management until 1810. The Works were again extended, in the meantime, under the new proprietor, and more attention was paid to the perfecting of the "opaque china." Mr. William Weston Young was engaged to decorate it, which he did in an excellent manner, insomuch that, to this day, pieces painted by him fetch high prices.

Mr. Ll. Jewitt says that he was an artist of great ability, particularly skilful in painting flowers, and especially subjects from natural history, such as shells, birds, butterflies, and other insects, drawn from nature. Unlike the French artists, he did not believe in "conventional" subjects, but was truthful and free in his delineations from the wide field of nature. Pieces with his name attached are rare. They were marked (so far as known) either "Young, pinxit, or Young, f." He was also employed to illustrate Mr. Weston Dillwyn's books on Natural History. He is also said by Jewitt to have learned the art of enamelling at Swansea; but I am inclined to think that he previously acquired that accomplishment at Bristol.

In 1810 the Bevingtons succeeded Haynes as managers at the Cambrian Pottery. They also became part proprietors some time between 1810 and 1817. There were ten shares in it, namely, seven held by Dillwyn; two by Timothy Bevington; and one by his son—John. In 1814 "Beeley" (Billingsley) and Walker were brought from Nantgarw to manufacture the real porcelain.

In 1817 they returned to Nantgarw, upon which Mr. Dillwyn disposed of his shares in the "Cambrian" to Messrs. Roby, George Haynes, jun., and John Bevington. In 1820 they offered to resell to him, and, failing to do so, sued him for

breach of contract, in which suit he was the victor, or rather the case was withdrawn in 1821. Jewitt says that they sold the moulds, etc., to Mr. John Rose, of Coalport. I think not. The lease ran out in 1824, and the factory re-lapsed to Dillwyn again. I have it on indubitable testimony that many of the china moulds were afterwards used for earthenware; moreover, that there was a very large quantity "in the white" left over. Mr. John Bevington had it removed, and a muffle erected to burn the colours after decoration. This is on the testimony of Mr. Henry Morris, who made the statement to the late Colonel Grant Francis. The statement was taken down in the year 1850, but was not published till after the death of Colonel Francis. It was, by the favour of his son, Mr. J. Richardson Francis, printed and made public in *The Cambrian* newspaper on January 3rd, 1896. It is as follows :—

"THE MANUFACTURE OF SWANSEA CHINA.

"SOME NOTES BY THE LATE COLONEL FRANCIS.

"Beyond the knowledge of the fact that porcelain china was at one time a notable product of Swansea, probably few people are aware of the processes adopted in its manufacture. In view of the revival of interest in this bygone industry, we took it upon ourselves to call upon Mr. Richardson Francis, at Llwynderw, and ask him if, in his valuable collection relating to Swansea, there was any authoritative information as to the manufacture of the china with which he could supply us. After a little reflection, Mr. Francis said he thought he could put his hand on the very thing, and in a short time kindly placed us in possession of the following 'notes on the manufacture of porcelain china at Swansea,' in the handwriting of the late Colonel Francis. They will doubtless be read with great interest :—

"'The following information I take down *viva voce* from Mr. Henry Morris, of Swansea, who was duly apprenticed to Mr. L. Weston Dillwyn as a pottery painter in the year 1813. When Morris first went to work, porcelain china was not manufactured at the Cambrian Pottery, but the ordinary earthenware only. He believes that it was in the year 1815 that a person named Burn, from Coalport, in Shropshire, came to the works and made experiments for the manufacture of porcelain, but after efforts continued over a few months, one J. W. Biggs (also from Coalport) was employed, and Burn, having failed to perfect any china, left Swansea. Biggs succeeded in making a tolerable article in "Stonebody." At first the ware was slightly painted, and, as the manufacture improved, the surfaces were painted and gilded much after the fashion then in use in England. Simple forms were chiefly executed, the only ornamentation attempted being a little embossing. About the year 1817* Messrs. Walker and Bailey were earning considerable fame for the superior and beautiful china which they manufactured and ornamented at Nantgarrow in the Vale of Taff in Glamorganshire. Morris believes that the hands employed there did not exceed a score of persons, and it was at this period that his employer, Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, induced the partners to break up their establishment at Nantgarrow, and manufacture at his works on the bank of the Tawe. A kiln was soon constructed upon the Nantgarrow model and much larger than the one previously used for porcelain at the Swansea Pottery. From this time commenced the make and body and glaze which has given such celebrity to

SWANSEA CHINA.

The truly beautiful paintings which adorn this manufacture were executed by or under the direction and superintendence of a

* The year was 1814. It is a misprint, or Morris' memory was not clear about it.

Mr. Bailey; by the artist Baxter, who had been a student at the Royal Academy; by De Iunic from the Royal Manufactory at Paris, and other artists, several of them natives of Swansea, amongst whom was my present informant. The modelling was entirely performed by Isaac Wood, of Burslem, in Staffordshire, but who came from Nantgarrow with Walker and Bailey. The biscuit flower modelling was executed by a man of the name of Goodsby, of Derby, and it was then considered excellent. Mr. Bailey not only painted on china, but designed many beautiful forms for the modellers. Mr. Dillwyn found the capital and works, and being very fond of natural history, he caused many of the birds and plants of the country to be painted on the china which was manufactured at his works. It unfortunately happened that, owing to some peculiarity in "the body," whole kilns of this precious metal were destroyed or rendered useless, and many a load was carted away to a hollow in the field at Hafod above the pipe works, whence on some future day choice fragments will doubtless be disinterred. Experiments continued to be made, at great cost to Mr. Dillwyn, and at length Mr. Walker succeeded in producing a body more safe for firing in the kiln, but the quality of which was inferior to that formerly made for clearness and brilliancy of glaze. The manufacture appeared to be thriving, but differences arising in the management about the year 18—, Messrs. Bailey and Walker left Swansea and again located themselves at Nantgarrow, where they re-opened their manufacture of china, but they soon failed in business, the concern broke up, and has not since been revived. On the departure from Swansea of Walker and Bailey, the management devolved upon Mr. Timothy Bevington, the then manager of the earthenware department of the Cambrian Pottery. The "China" continued to be manufactured from the receipts of Walker and Bailey up to about 1823, when the make was finally abandoned on the

expiring of the lease to Bevington, the pottery returning into Mr. Dillwyn's hands. The existing stock of china in the white state was removed to the pipe works, about half a mile further up the river Tawe, and there it was ornamented, enamelled, and sold. An enamelling kiln was next constructed at the Brewery premises in the Strand, so as to be near Mr. John Bevington's offices, and there the last remnants of "Swansea China" were painted and sold, the *very* last portions being painted by my present informant. Amongst the numerous purchasers, Morris more particularly recollects Lord Dynevor, Sir Christopher and Lady Mary Cole, Sir John Morris, Mr. J. H. Vivian, Mr. Dillwyn, Lord Ilchester, and Sir Watkin W. Wynne, which last gentleman, purchasing at the Brewery, Morris particularly remembers regretting that he was unable to obtain a complete service of *Welch* china. Many strangers came from a distance to purchase, and the more respectable people of Swansea were occasional buyers, and the taste and demand for this beautiful ware were fast increasing when it was unfortunately stopped. The china was sometimes marked when soft with a stamp; but if after glazing, then it was put on with a pencil and red paint, "Swansea": and the like, Morris thinks, was done at Nantgarrow.'

"[Taken down from Henry Morris by George Grant Francis, F.S.A., August 14th, 1850.]"

Mr. Dillwyn, jun., was quite a boy then (1824), but in a few years he was made the managing partner of the Works. There were, of course, sub-managers of departments as formerly.

In 1850, he in turn disposed of them to his then commercial manager, Mr. David Evans. I fix the year 1850 because Mr. Dillwyn, sen., in his letter of 5th June, 1849, to Dr. Lardner, says his son was in charge. Mr. Lewis, in his "Guide" of 1851, states the pottery belonged to Evans & Glasson. Also, because David Jones (turner at the Llanelly Pottery) informed me that he

went to Evans & Glasson's employment in the autumn of 1850—about six months after they got the Works from Dillwyn.

Mr. Evans took with him, as partner, Mr. Glasson, who had large experience in the commercial department, as traveller, for the South Wales Pottery at Llanelly. Mr. Glasson died in a few years, and shortly afterwards Mr. David Evans himself retired from the business, and left the control to his eldest son, Mr. David J. Evans, who carried the Works on under the title of D. J. Evans & Co. In 1870 they were closed, being disposed of to Messrs. Cory, Yeo & Company for a Patent Fuel Works and Coal Wharf. I have received the exact date of the transfer from the firm, and it is 24th June, 1870. Mr. Westlake, Contractor, Swansea, was employed to remove the old buildings, and thus prepare the ground for the new works. He informed me that, in digging up the foundation, there was unmistakable testimony of the original site of the Copper Works, judging from the remains of slag, etc. He thinks a great many of the moulds were destroyed, and that the ware had been quietly disposed of privately. A large quantity of the copper plates for transfers were sold to a Bristol pottery firm, and others to the South Wales Pottery Company, Llanelly. From the latter, by the kindness of the courteous owner—Mr. Guest—I have received a specimen, which is lodged in the Museum of the Royal Institution at Swansea. It is the "Cuba" pattern, and has both the names of Dillwyn and Evans engraved thereon. It must have been used by each firm. It appears in this volume as an illustration.

Thus ended the famous old "Cambrian" pottery of Swansea, after a checkered career of a little over a century.

The aforegoing, in brief, is the annal of the "Cambrian" Pot-works, but there are many other interesting details which I propose to recount, as tersely and succinctly as I can, in the following pages.

As bearing upon the subject there is an interesting book, entitled "A Tour through South of England, Wales, and a part of Ireland, in the Summer of 1791," by D. Clarke, LL.D. (published in 1793, by Edwards, Bond Street, London).

At page 204 the writer describes Swansea, which, he says, has an "agreeable" situation. He visited the pottery, which, according to him, was the largest and the only one of consequence at that time in Wales; the works being "extensive." He had the "ill fortune" to visit it when there was little business going on, but, through the kindness of the "master" (? Mr. Haynes) he got an outline of the process adopted at the factory, which is described somewhat as follows: "A species of white clay was procured from Devonshire, in large balls. The clay was pulverized and mixed with water, then passed through a sieve finer than cambric, united with a powder of calcined flint, and again sifted. Thus refined, it was placed in a cistern, under which was a stove or furnace. This was heated by flame from a 'small coal' fire, which passed under the whole length of the 'cistern' to a distance of 60 yards. The water evaporated, leaving nothing but pure clay, which was then beaten with care and attention, in order to extract all the air in it, for if a bubble of it was left it would expand in the oven and destroy the work. After this process was complete, it was passed on to the 'potter,' who sits at a wheel, similar to that used for common earthenware. He formed it into different shapes for as many different articles. From him each article was handed to the 'turner,' who then shaped it to a nicety, and somewhat after the manner of the Tunbridge ware. From the 'turner' it went to another workman who formed lips, handles, etc., upon it. After that a variety of hands shared in the work; the painter, the glazer, the enameller, the 'baker,' etc., had all to do with it before it was put in the warehouse for sale. Its beauty and elegance,"

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY MORRIS.

the writer enthusiastically adds, "vied with the most exquisite productions."

For an amateur of a century ago this description, though quaint in some respects, is rather a good one. For the "baker" I suppose we must read the saggerman; for the "potter," the thrower; and then the outlined process is a pretty correct one.

The ware described was, doubtless, the "opaque china" invented by Haynes. If so, he must have produced it as early as 1791—the year of Dr. Clarke's visit.

In "A Tour to North and South Wales by Henry Wigstead, in 1797" (illustrated by Rowlandson, Pugh, Hewitt, etc., and published in London by W. Wigstead in 1800), it is stated that Swansea "is a very large town. It is built at nearly the mouth of the Tovy (? Tawe). Its chief trade is in coals, pottery, and copper." There is a good sketch of the town by Rowlandson, taken at nearly the point of view of the one by Turner, and engraved by Rothwell.

In "Welsh Tours" (London: G. Sael, 1798) occurs this sentence: "Swansea makes a handsome appearance. . . The town is populous and the streets wide; and it carries on a considerable trade in coals, pottery, and copper." As a corollary to this read—"A Second Walk through Wales," by the Revd. R. Warner (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1800). He says: At Swansea there is "a pottery on Mr. Wedgwood's plan," and the following statistics give an idea of the shipping trade of the port:

Vessels cleared.

Year 1768—694.
,, 1794—1757—105·907 Register tons.
,, 1797—1797—115·034 ,, ,,

The average size was, therefore, under 60 tons.

In the "Swansea Guide" (Swansea: Morris, 1802) the writer notices the Cambrian Pottery as one of the sights of the

town ; that it was formed on Wedgwood's plan ; and had "long been carried on" by Mr. Haynes. Also, that the clay was brought from various parts of England. A description of the process of manufacture is given somewhat similar to that by Donovan, as recorded below.

E. Donovan (author of "British Zoology," 20 vols.) was one of the earliest writers who described the process at the Cambrian Pottery. (See his "Descriptive Excursion through South Wales and Monmouthshire, in the year 1804 and four preceding Summers.") The work was published in London in 1805. Donovan says that he inspected the pottery of Haynes and Company, and that it was similar to Wedgwood's plan of works for earthenware and porcelain ;* that the materials were kept a secret ; and that the clay was brought from Derbyshire. This must be a mistake—perhaps of the printer. It must mean either Devonshire or Dorsetshire. To bring clay from Derby by land carriage in those days would be prohibitive in cost ; but to get clay from Devon or Dorset to Swansea by vessel was an easy matter.

Donovan then goes on to describe the process of manufacture, which shows him to have been a keen observer. He says that the clay was well washed and mixed with pulverized flint, about one-fourth or one-fifth of the latter ; it was cleared of impurities by sifting and washing ; then dried by heat and kneaded into consistency ; it was beaten to exclude the air ; it was then ready for the moulder, whose process he describes. The glazer then dipped the piece into a fluid preparation of litharge, or lead, containing powdered flint, and other ingredients that vitrify by fire ; it was then dried and baked in a kiln, when it was ready for use, or for printing or painting. The former, he quaintly says, is

* Josiah Wedgwood never produced porcelain proper. He was noted for his jasper ware, which is a different thing. His successors, however, did produce *some* porcelain.

easy; but the latter requires great care. The painting is described as consisting of emblematical designs, landscapes, fruit, flowers, heraldic figures, or other devices. It was done by the painter sketching lightly in blacklead, etc., after the glazing: the piece was then submitted to a certain degree of heat in the kiln in order to "fix" the colours. The preparation of the colours, and the knowledge of what kind will come out after firing, was kept a secret. He (Donovan) also rather funnily adds that the "biscuit" porcelain—that kind without the glaze—was executed in great perfection. This is very interesting as showing what was done at Swansea some ninety years ago. Who were the painters who produced all those lovely landscapes on the porcelain, so-called, but which was really the "opaque china?"

The Cambrian Pot-works is also, about Donovan's time, mentioned by the Rev. J. Evans, B.A., of Jesus College, Oxford. In 1804 he published a book entitled "Letters on a Tour in South Wales." The "tour" was made in the preceding year. He says that he visited Swansea, and there found a pottery on the plan of Wedgwood, and which was managed under the "auspices of the ingenious Mr. Haynes."

In Malkin's "Scenery, etc., of South Wales" (London: Longmans, 1807), it is stated that a "very flourishing pottery was carried on at Swansea," and a description, similar to Donovan's, is given of it.

Another glimpse is caught of the "Cambrian" Works in "The Cambrian Traveller's Guide" (Stourport: G. Nicholson, 1808). It is stated, in treating of Swansea, that "a very flourishing pottery is carried on here on the plan of Mr. Wedgwood."

In describing it thus one writer seems to have followed another as to the "plan." What was this plan? It was simply the improved system of arranging his kilns; slip, pressing, painting rooms, etc., adopted by Wedgwood.

There is a pamphlet entitled "A sketch of the Medical Topography of Swansea" (London: Medical Repository for August, 1815). It estimates the population at 10,000, mostly consisting of seafaring men; those working in coal mines, copper houses, potteries, and breweries. Also, that a number of genteel families were attracted for society, amusement, and cheapness of the markets. These were increased in numbers during summer by visitors for bathing, etc., and many of them stayed throughout the winter months, owing to the mildness of the climate.

With regard to the painters there is a paragraph in "The Guide and Hand-book to Swansea and its District," published by Mr. S. C. Gamwell, *Cambrian* newspaper office, in 1880, which throws a side-light on the subject. It records that T. Rothwell was the "chief" engraver at the Cambrian Pottery in 1792, and that he published a series of local views. Again, that the great painter, Turner, visited Swansea; and that the first plate engraved, after Turner, by Rothwell, in 1795, was "Swansea." *

Turner was born in 1775. He would be only seventeen years old when he first visited Swansea, which was in 1792, according to Thornbury. He became a student at the Royal Academy, London, in 1789, and exhibited a view of "Lambeth Palace" there in 1790. It is very interesting to know the fact of the great artist being in some way connected with the pottery at Swansea; and, except so far as dates are concerned, it is certain that the incident took place. But the man who did more than any other to make Swansea's "opaque china" famous was Wm. Weston Young, whose annals are related more at length in other pages herein.

Mr. Dillwyn bought the Works in 1802 for his son, who introduced Young to the pottery. As bearing on this point let me quote that son's letter to Dr. Lardner. It is dated from Sketty Hall on June 5th, 1849, and is as follows:

* See Memoir of Rothwell in this book on this point.

"My dear Sir,

"It was, I believe, about the year 1750* that earthenware was first made at Swansea on a small scale, and in 1790 the manufactory, with the title of 'Cambrian Pottery,' was much extended, under the management of Mr. George Haynes, but it had not attained to half its present size when I purchased the estate in 1802. (? His father bought it for him.)

"Throughout it has been carried on in the same way as the Staffordshire Potteries, and it was not until 1813 that any attempt to make china commenced. At this time two persons, under the assumed names of Walker and Beeley, set up a small kiln at Nantgarrow (*sic*), and sent a specimen of beautiful porcelain, having a granulated fracture, much like fine lump sugar, with a claim for Government patronage; and through my friend Sir Joseph Banks, as a member of the Board of Trade, I was required to visit Nantgarrow (*sic*) and report my opinion of its quality. From the great number of broken and imperfect articles which I found, it was quite plain that they could not be produced with any certainty. But I was made by the parties to believe that the defects were entirely from the inconveniences of their little factory, and was induced to build a small china works adjoining the pottery (? at Swansea), so that the granulated body might have a fair trial. While engaged in some experiments for strengthening the body so that the articles might retain their shape in the kiln, and for removing their liability to craze and shiver, I was astonished by receiving a notice from Flight & Barr, of Worcester, that the persons who called themselves Walker and Beeley, had clandestinely left their service, and warning me not to employ them. Flight & Barr, in the most gentlemanly way, at the same time convinced me that this granulated body could never be made of

* The correct year was 1768. See p. 7, *ante*.

any use, and, as it was not worth their while to prosecute them, the runaways went back for a few months to Nantgarrow (*sic*), and I do not know what afterwards became of them. Beeley, under the name of Billingsley, though he had another *alias*, was well known in the British china manufacture to be a first-rate modeller of flowers, and Walker, whose other name I forget, had married his daughter, and was employed at Flight & Barr's mixing rooms.

"Except for a few trials, in which the transparency was injured, I believe *that all the china with granulated fracture was marked Nantgarrow* (*sic*).* And that with a compact fracture was mostly stamped Swansea, or sometimes with a Trident. With the aid of some scientific friends, I made a tolerably good, sound porcelain with a compact fracture. But in 1817 I removed to Penllergare and relinquished all attention to this, the most troublesome part of the pottery concern, which now belongs to my son, L. L. Dillwyn.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"L. W. Dillwyn."

There are several valuable points in this letter germane to this little history. The writer dates his letter in 1849, which was forty-seven years after he acquired the Works, and about thirty-five after he met Billingsley. His memory, however, seems clear even as to dates. It confirms the fact, stated in the other letter given in these pages—addressed to Sir Henry de la Beche—that Sir Joseph Banks referred the Nantgarw potter's petition to him. Probably the two letters were written within a short time of each other. We have the facts that he acquired the property in

* Mr. Drane says:—This (the sentence in italics) is a most notable point, and explains how some pieces of Nantgarw body, and so stamped, are painted by artists known at Swansea, and never known to have painted at Nantgarw. Some of those pieces have perplexed me very much.

1802 ; that the porcelain was first made in 1813 * at Nantgarw ; that he gave up the Works in 1817 ; that certain marks were put on the porcelain ; that the Swansea porcelain had a compact fracture ; and that the Nantgarw porcelain was "granulated." This stamps the difference between the two "bodies." Technically, "compact" fracture means conchoidal ; and "granulated," saccharoidal. The former, according to Ogilvie, means, when a piece is broken, the production of a fracture like that of a bivalve shell, *i.e.*, with curved elevations ; the latter has a texture like that of loaf-sugar —though not always so. In a rough or general way they, also, mean that the "compact fracture" indicates a "hard" paste body, principally made from kaolin or china clay ; and the "granulated" a "soft" paste body formed from certain ingredients to imitate, scientifically, the component parts of felspar, etc. Of such were the *pâte tendre* of Sèvres, and the first productions of Dr. Wall, at Worcester. Another point in Mr. Dillwyn's letter is worth noting, wherein he confirms Donovan, who said that Haynes' pottery was conducted on Wedgwood's lines ; whereas, Dillwyn says it was carried on like the Staffordshire pot-works. I need not say that Wedgwood was a Staffordshire potter.†

Billingsley and Walker left Swansea sometime in 1817. Mrs. Walker died at Swansea in January of that year, and her sister (Lavinia) died at Nantgarw in the September following. The exodus, therefore, took place between those two months. It must have been very soon after they left that Mr. Dillwyn gave up the works, and the following advertisement will prove it :—

* The year was 1812 according to Iolo Morganwg.

† Mr. Drane says : Here the fact comes out clearly that Swansea tried to strengthen the Nantgarw body with kaolin, to reduce its glass-like, fusible character, so that the Nantgarw story of its "most refractory character," and heat so intense as to render fire-clay saggers unfit for a second firing, is but a device to cover its failure to meet the requirements of a true porcelain body. The enthusiastic "Beeley" believed in his beautiful paste, and, not being chemist enough to understand its failure, sought for every available explanation, real or unreal, as every other enthusiastic inventor does. He only dreamed of impracticable perfection, and thought fate, and not folly, was his sworn enemy. Yet, what kind heart or observant mind will withhold him sympathy and admiration, or even love ?

[Extract from the *Cambrian* of March 14th, 1818.]

"Notice is hereby given, that the co-partnership hereinbefore carried on by us, in the town and franchise of Swansea, in the County of Glamorgan, under the firm or style of L. W. Dillwyn & Co., was dissolved by mutual consent on the 3rd of September last, 1817, and all debts owing to and from the said concern will be respectively received by Timothy Bevington. Witness our hands, this 26th day of February, 1818.

"L. W. DILLWYN.
"TIMOTHY BEVINGTON.
"JOHN BEVINGTON.

"Witness, W. Lewis."

What time the Bevingtons joined Dillwyn may be inferred from the report of a trial at law which ensued between the parties. There is a scarce pamphlet extant, giving the details of the whole case. It is entitled: "A Bill and Answer, filed in the Chancery Court of the great Sessions at Cardiff in April, 1821, with explanatory remarks by the Defendant." (London: J. McCreeky, Tooks' Court.)

The contents of the document are too lengthy to be quoted *verbatim*, but a few extracts bearing upon the history of the Cambrian Pottery will be exceedingly useful in the construction of this narrative. At page 1, the case is headed thus: "John Roby, of Clydach, Glamorgan, Esquire; George Haynes the younger, of Swansea, Esquire; and John Bevington, of Swansea, gentleman; *versus* Lewis Weston Dillwyn, of Penllergare, Glamorgan, Esquire; (lately in co-partnership with Timothy Bevington, of Swansea, Esquire; and your orator, John Bevington)."

It then recites that the latter three men carried on the pottery termed "The Cambrian Pottery and China Works," from and previous to the 17th August, 1817, under a lease from the Duke of Beaufort and the Swansea Corporation. That the said pottery

became famous in August, 1817, for a peculiar species of china, which was in request; made under the sole direction of Lewis Weston Dillwyn, who has great chemical knowledge. That the receipt is a secret in the possession of L. W. Dillwyn, and not communicated to the others who were employed—Timothy Bevington, at the other branches of potting; and John Bevington, as rider or traveller to get orders. Also that L. W. Dillwyn is sole lessee for a term of years (several being unexpired) of a certain soap-rock in Cornwall, at a rental of £75 annually.

That, in August, 1817, Mr. L. W. Dillwyn wanted to sell out, and the others, induced by him, bought six tenths* of his seven tenths, owing to the "celebrity and increasing demand for the said peculiar species of china." That L. W. Dillwyn said the business was yielding £2,000 per annum profit; that they did not owe more than £4,200; that the rental of the buildings was worth £1,200 a year; and that the price to take over six tenths of the liabilities was £7,800, stated thus:

Stock of china	£ 2,500
Do. earthenware and utensils ...	14,700
	17,200
Debts (estimated)	4,200
Balance	£13,000
Six tenths of the same	£7,800

Also, that the secret receipt for making the china was to be handed over. That brings us to page 7. It is also asserted, at page 9, that the stock of china was bad in manufacture and liable to spit if heated in the muffle.

* In Mr. Roby's 'Reply'—see *post*—seven tenths were sold.

Passing to page 31 it is pleaded that all book debts owing to L. W. Dillwyn & Company are to be taken over by the new Company, "excepting only those owing by William Beeley and Samuel Walker."

At page 43 it is said that Mr. Dillwyn desired, in the autumn of 1815, to separate the china works from the pottery ; at page 53, that he proposed to let the china works to Walker, but that Bevington & Co. took them.

At page 58, in the "Answer," Mr. Dillwyn admits that the Cambrian pottery became celebrated in August, 1817, for two peculiar species of china, resembling foreign china, and that it was in considerable request, and gave promise of becoming the most important part of the manufactory. He further stated, that the said china was manufactured entirely by one Samuel Walker, under the direction of Timothy Bevington and John Bevington, and not under the sole direction of himself (Dillwyn) or anyone else. He further declared there were two receipts, but that they were not a secret with him ; and that in a few days after date of agreement—6th September, 1817—the said receipts were both communicated to Timothy Bevington, but not to John Bevington. Both receipts were known to Samuel Walker. Mr. Dillwyn admits that he did lease, with the others, the soap-rock in Cornwall. He also said that the imperfect china was partly composed of soap-rock, and other parts were composed without it. He affirmed that, on the 3rd March, 1820, he had a letter from Bevington & Co. offering the "china business" for sale—the reason being that they wanted more capital for both concerns ; that the terms were liberal, and the prospect of business "pleasing."

At page 99 he alleges that the complainants are keen men of business, and recites that George Haynes the elder originally built the greater part of the Pot-works and sold them in 1802 to "my father" ; that for seven years more Haynes was manager

of the works and "taught me all I know of it." Haynes, he says, left in 1810, but was concerned in conducting a rival pottery.

Finally, he alleges that the Bevingtons succeeded to the management of the "Cambrian" Pottery in 1810, and continued till 1817, with his (Dillwyn's) occasional superintendence.

There are one hundred and four pages of evidence and statement in the pamphlet. In the course of it the interesting fact is recorded that a dessert service of the Swansea china had been painted by Baxter, who is referred to more at length in another part of this book. There are no other points of peculiar interest worth quoting in this connection at the present time, excepting that at the trial the charges were withdrawn, and the plaintiffs had to pay £142 16s. 5d. taxed costs.

In continuation of this account, I give extracts from "A Reply" to above-named pamphlet by Mr. John Roby, and also from a further vindication issued by Mr. Dillwyn, which seems to have closed the discussion in printed publications.

See what follows, but only compressed extracts are given when bearing strictly on the affairs of the pottery :—

"A REPLY TO MR. DILLWYN'S PAMPHLET.

"By JOHN ROBY.

"Swansea: T. Jenkins, 1821."

Page 1—Mr. Dillwyn has published a pamphlet entitled "A Bill and Answer, filed in the Chancery Court of the Great Sessions at Cardiff in 1821, with explanatory remarks by the Defendant."

Page 2—Plaintiffs will lay before the public a plain narrative. Messrs. Lewis Weston Dillwyn, Timothy Bevington and John Bevington, were co-partners in a manufactory of earthenware and porcelain at Swansea, which was called the Cambrian Pottery and China Works: Capital of trade divided into tenths—Mr. D. had

seven ; T. B., two ; and his son, J. B., had one. Early in 1817 J. B. mentioned to George Haynes, jun., Mr. D.'s intention to dispose of his shares. Interviews between Mr. D. and G. H. followed, but the matter was relinquished, as see the letter herewith to Mr. Dillwyn.

"SWANSEA, 11TH JULY, 1817.

"My dear Sir,

"Had I not received from Mr. Bevington an intimation that a communication would not be unacceptable to you, I should not have thought of intruding upon you just at this time.

"Having given the subject between us my mature consideration, I think it would be imprudent in me to engage in the undertaking as long as Mr. Bevington the elder declines guaranteeing the continuance of his services ; and unless some satisfactory arrangement could be entered into relative to your taking the stock at a valuation, when the period expires.

"Of the first obstacle I was not at all aware when the business was proposed to me, otherwise it is probable I should not have occasioned you the trouble I have, nor myself have bestowed upon the subject the thought which has been given to it.

"At the same time that I lament that impediments should oppose an arrangement, of what I certainly anticipated a more favourable result, I should do you an injustice if I omitted expressing to you my sense of the candour and liberality which I have experienced from you on this occasion.

"I am, etc.,

"G. HAYNES, JUN."

Page 4—Mr. Roby had seceded from a colliery concern of the late Mr. Harper. Mr. Haynes suggested to him to invest his capital in the pottery, and they decided to ascertain what could be done.

Page 8—Mr. Dillwyn assured Mr. George Haynes that, although, owing to erection of new buildings, receipts were not so large, yet, in future, it would clearly prove a profit of £2,000 a year. A memorandum in D.'s handwriting is as follows :

From March, 1810, to December, 1811, £2,458 6s. 2½d. ; December, 1812, £1,517 0s. 0½d. ; December, 1813, £1,773 11s. 9d. ; new buildings, December, 1814, £502 14s. 9½d. ; Two years, December, 1816, £2,518 12s. 0d. On this agreement was made, 26th August, 1817, to let the pottery and flint-mill (exclusive of china works) at a rent of £1,000 yearly.

Page 12—After signing above, suggested to take a round sum. Mr. D. suggested to take china stock in addition at a cheap bargain of £2,500, and he made the following memo. :

	£	s.	d.
Value of Stock at Christmas, 1816, after deducting debts owed	13,418	1	1
Profits on earthenware business for nine months ended Michaelmas cannot be less, to the best of my belief, than ...	1,000	0	0
Stock of china, increased in value ...	1,000	0	0
Total ...	£15,418	1	1
Deduct Walker's debt	340	0	0
Amount on which shares to be proportioned	£14,110	0	0

Page 13—This proposal was rejected. List of debts owing to be taken by new firm of T. & J. Bevington & Co., £4,200. Mr. Roby asked for a maximum ; Mr. D. said it could not be more than £4,500. The actual amount ascertained was £5,363 17s. 10d., exclusive of any claim still pending and not presented.

Page 15—Of these debts Messrs. Haynes and Roby could know nothing; neither could the elder Bevington, as he was confined to the manufacturing department. John Bevington only imperfectly knew, as he travelled for the concern, and Mr. D. kept the private books, in which were entered (p. 18) some debts owing the firm which were bad: *e.g.*, J. King, Bristol, £300, was never recovered. D. said the china was cheap at £2,500, but it was found to be worth less than £1,000, being composed of plates and ornamental pieces, liable to spit and fly in the "muffle," and hazardous for them or London enamellers to expend wages in painting, etc. The London customers would not bake it at a reduction of 75 per cent. on D.'s price.

This department was under the sole direction of D., who alone knew the process and the value of the goods. The lease of the soap-rock in Cornwall had four years unexpired, rent £75 yearly.

Page 19—Plaintiffs had no advantage. D. knew the china made from it was liable to objections mentioned. The greater part of the stock was made from it. Thus plaintiffs gave £2,500 for the china, and paid £300 for rent (? for four years for soap-rock), for china not worth £1,000.

Page 20—In his letter of 9th September, 1819, to G. Haynes, D. tries to palliate the exorbitant price of the china. He says: "For the china I thought you paid a fair price, because much of it had been made prior to some late improvements, but I thought that by painting it with cheap patterns you might dispose of it to a profit." But in his pamphlet he says: "By this agreement complainants only purchased the stock of china—separate from the manufactory—on account of its being fit, from imperfections, to paint . . . with common patterns . . . for a country market, with assortments of earthenware. On finding I purposed to let the works to Walker they . . offered to rent them on

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY MORRIS.

trial. This was the third agreement . . . and yet they said . . . they only intended to make a small quantity of china, and use the kiln, etc., of the china works for . . . extension of the earthenware manufactory."

Page 21—D. admits he alone knew the secret of the peculiar kind of china, and did only give receipts to Timothy Bevington after the bargain was made. There were two receipts for china and two glazes, but the Nantgarw receipt he refused to divulge. Influenced by him, the plaintiffs bought his shares at the rate of £13,000 and to make him a dessert service of china. Also, agreed to take a lease, on two years' notice, of china works at £200 per annum (page 22), making rent for the whole premises £1,200, besides taxes and fire insurance. The rents are exorbitant.

September 23, 1817. Agreement stamped, whereby D. let the Pottery and Flint Mill at £1,000 per annum for twenty-one years, terminable at option of lessees at seven or fourteen years on paying £300 fine. The China Works to be £200 a year, on two years' notice to close by either party.

Page 23—At termination of lease, D. was to take stock, amount not to exceed £6,000, to be paid by bills of one, two and three years.

Three tenths shares were taken by Roby, and three by Haynes, senior and junior, for £7,800. J. Bevington took one tenth in addition to the one he possessed, making £9,100 to be paid to Dillwyn. J. B. settled for his. Roby and Haynes paid as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Cash (leaving £6,300 balance)	1,500	0	0
First Instalment	1,575	0	0
Year's interest on £6,300	315	0	0
Carried forward	£3,390	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£3,390	0	0
Second Instalment	1,575	0	0
Year's interest on £4,725	236	0	0
Third Instalment	1,575	0	0
Year's interest on £3,150	157	10	0
Fourth Instalment...	1,575	0	0
Year's interest on £1,575	78	15	0
Total paid ...	£8,587	5	0

Page 24—The Haynes appear to be bankers as well.

Page 26—Quotations from Roby's banking account to prove that all his shares were paid up.

Page 28—Haynes & Son, mentioned as bankers, advancing money to Bevington & Co.

Page 30—At end of 1817 plaintiffs took stock; entered at

	£	s.	d.
D's value of	2,500	0	0
Ring's debt at	300	0	0
Stock only, valued at	12,071	15	5

Showing a loss of £28 6s. 7d., instead of a profit of £1,000 to £2,000 as estimated by Dillwyn.

Page 31—Stated that, if all debts had been accurately ascertained and china fairly valued, stock would not be worth £10,000.

Page 34—Letter dated 4th November, 1820, from Berrington and Jenkins, solicitors for plaintiffs, asking for arbitration or will go to a Court of Equity.

Page 34—Dillwyn's reply. He states that his letters of 4th February, 1819, to Berrington & Co., and of 9th and 14th September, 1819, to Haynes, set out his reasons for going to law if they so decide.

Page 35—His solicitor, Mr. Lewis Thomas, accepted plaintiffs' draft at Cardiff to prepare the "Answer." Having no witnesses but themselves to the contracts, etc., and the defendant having "roundly (page 37) denied" the charges, they relinquished the case. D's attorney's bill of costs was £366 8s. 9d.—taxed to £142 16s. 5d.—difference £223 12s. 4d. disallowed.

Page 39—The author says he has no resource left but to publish to the public this explanation in self-defence: that the plaintiffs reiterate their charges against D. He deceived them (1) in representation of profits; (2) in amount of debts he owed; (3) in the value of the china; (4) he endeavoured to palliate or contradict the charges by denial of truth and assertion of falsehood; (5) he endeavoured to injure them by unnecessary, malignant and false imputations on their credit.

In the appendix, there are the affidavit of George Haynes, junior, as to amount of profit stated, etc.; the affidavit of John Roby, as to debts omitted; and the affirmation of John Bevington (being one of the people called Quakers) as to the amount of debts stated wrongly, etc.

There are some points in these documents of great interest in reference to the ware. It is stated by Roby that the china or porcelain made at Swansea from the soap-rock was objected to by customers. This is confirmed by Dillwyn himself, for he says that the plaintiffs should have gotten a "fair price" for the china sold, because *much of it was made prior to the late improvements.* He could only mean that the china made from the Nantgarw receipt was the most highly valued.

It is also stated that there were two receipts for body and glaze at Swansea; but that D. withheld the best—the Nantgarw receipt.

Another point is that D., in 1817, offered to rent the Works to Walker. If he had done so, how different might it have been for Billingsley, as well as for Walker!

Mr. Dillwyn published a rejoinder to Mr. Roby's pamphlet. A few summary remarks from it are worth quoting. It was entitled: "Some Remarks on Two Affidavits and One Affirmation, published by John Roby, Swansea" (Swansea: J. M. Voss, 1822).

Page 1—Extract from Blackstone, as to Magistrates making affidavits a trivial matter, which practice is condemned.

Page 3—Mr. D., says John Bevington, in a letter of 12th May, 1821, stated he never saw the "Bill," or knew his name was appended, till many days after it was filed at Cardiff, and he calls the Bill "an abominable measure, fraught with calumny and wicked lies."

Page 4—Haynes, senior and junior, both say they never saw the "Bill" till after it was filed, and the latter wrote "lie" opposite some of the charges. Mr. Roby cannot deny that his "instruction" for the Bill contained—"the names of Timothy Bevington and John Bevington may be used as complainants or defendants, whichever will be most expedient."

Page 4—Mr. Roby wished to intimidate D. by letting a friend know that he would be charged with perjury and offering to settle on advantageous terms. "This I spurned."

Page 5—That Mr. Haynes was better able than his son, or Mr. Roby, to explain many of the subjects brought forward.

Page 6—Mr. Haynes, junior, swears, by affidavit, that "I told him" the pottery and china works would yield £2,000 a year. This could not be before the 26th August—the date of first agreement—which was only for the pottery, exclusive of the china works. The two were separately bargained for. I may then have said so, for the joint profits, with sufficient capital, might have so yielded, had depression of trade not set in.

Page 7—Gave them the private ledger, with a full account of all profits of preceding years.

Page 8—Mr. John Bevington "told me" the delay in settling was owing to Mr. Roby's inability to pay Messrs. Haynes for the shares he had bought. Mr. Roby's affidavit varies from his allegation in examination.

That the list of debts was prepared by John Bevington himself, and not "by me." . . . "I might have said" (trusting to J. B.'s memory) that the list was probably correct, and would not exceed £300 more than his list. Probably some of the debts now named were incurred after that date—(26th August, 1817).

Page 11—In Mr. John Bevington's affirmation he lends himself to Mr. Roby, and makes a similar statement, but, if cross-examined, his account of the transaction would probably come nearer mine. He makes himself contemptible. The petty ledger (from which the account was taken) was kept solely by John Bevington.

Page 12—The first contract for the stock and debts was signed by J. B. alone, on behalf of his partners.

Page 12—"I ask" if either he (J. B.) or his father ever knew the extent of Mr. Roby's share in the pottery for two or three years after the final agreement was signed.

Page 13—Mr. D. makes some general observations on the dispute: That the first or main agreement of 26th August was made after a protracted treaty. The others relate to two off-hand bargains, by which (1) "I sold" my shares for a round sum at haphazard, without regular valuation; and (2) the China Works were rented on trial for two years.

Page 14—That the said exorbitant rent was only about 5 per cent. on what "I had" paid to Haynes (when bought from him), and extensions under his management, or that of Mr. Bevington. They could therefore well judge for themselves. The preceding Christmas the stock had been valued by the Bevingtons

at upwards of £13,400. At that date "I had" purchased one of their shares, and was assured by them that a thriving trade had been carried on.

Page 15—Therefore, "I could not" rationally be expected to take a smaller sum than at the rate of £13,400.

In addition to what I have noted at the end of Roby's pamphlet, there is some valuable information obtained from the contents of these publications generally. There are the names, etc., of the partners, dates and their share of the works; that "soap-rock" (? china clay) from Cornwall was rented, and, therefore, used; that certain values are assessed; that Walker's Christian name was Samuel (not "George," as given by Jewitt and other authorities); and that Walker and Beeley were in debt to Dillwyn. This latter fact casts a lurid light on poor Billingsley's troubles. It was the want of capital that clogged all his schemes.

The two receipts mentioned were, no doubt, intended to represent the one invented by Billingsley, that is the "granulated" and saccharoidal one used for the Nantgarw "soft paste"; and the other (the Swansea body) elaborated out of it by Mr. Dillwyn, assisted by his "scientific friends," of whom probably Young was the more prominent. It showed the "compact" (or conchoidal) fracture in the broken porcelain, and was characteristic of the later Swansea productions.

We also have this fact, that George Haynes managed the Cambrian Pottery till 1810, and had another pottery as well; that the Bevingtons succeeded him in 1810 and continued till 1817. The "Swansea Directory," published by Mathews in 1816, states that the Cambrian Pottery had long been carried on by Haynes, but "now" was carried on by L. W. Dillwyn.

The dissolution of partnership with the Bevingtons took place on the 3rd September, 1817, as appears by the advertisement

already quoted, when the firm was re-constituted by taking into it Roby and Haynes in addition to the Bevingtons.

The following copy of an advertisement from the *Cambrian* newspaper of 3rd May, 1817, indicates that the high reputation of the Swansea-cum-Nantgarw ware had, at an early date, been pirated :—

"SWANSEA PORCELAIN.

"L. W. Dillwyn & Co., having received proof that china of a very inferior quality has been sold under this name, hereby give notice that their newly discovered porcelain cannot be procured at any other place in the Principality, and that 'Swansea' will, for the future, be stamped on every article.

"In London it is sold at the following warehouses—Mortlock's, 250, Oxford Street; Pellet & Green, St. Paul's Churchyard; Neal & Bayley, St. Paul's Churchyard; Boucher & Guy, 120, Leadenhall Street.—Dated, Cambrian Pottery, 1st May, 1817."

It will be observed in the first pamphlet relating to the trial of 1821 it is stated that the porcelain became famous in August, 1817. The above quoted advertisement was before that date; and it is obvious the ware must have become famous for some time, otherwise it would not have been imitated. I take it the date of "August, 1817" was inserted in the pleadings simply in a legal sense. Another point is this: An inference from the above quoted "notice" is that a few days after the date of it the word "Swansea" was first impressed on the ware. But the letter of 5th June, 1849, to Dr. Lardner, would imply that some Swansea ware had been so stamped, at an early date, to distinguish it from the Nantgarw ware. It would also appear that on the separation, and Mr. Dillwyn's retirement to Penllergare, Bevington & Co. carried on the Porcelain Works for a few years, and then closed them. They had a distinctive mark with their own name impressed on the china. Professor Church observes—*vide* South Kensington

Museum Art Handbook, on English Porcelain—that, "when porcelain bears the above mark ("Bevington & Co.") it may very likely belong to the period 1817-1820,* for in the former year Mr. Dillwyn gave up the manufacture of porcelain to Mr. Bevington."

The sale at Nantgarw took place 28th October, 1822. The authorities generally say that Mr. Rose removed Billingsley to Coalport in 1820, and bought the moulds, etc., at Nantgarw and Swansea. This latter statement is unlikely. Young acquired the pottery at Nantgarw and its contents when Billingsley left. Young was in possession in 1821, as appears by his diary. It is more probable that Rose again visited the place in October, 1822, and it is possible that he may have bought some materials then; and he may have visited Swansea at the same time for a similar purpose, but there is no proof of it, and the probability is the other way. Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn, at a later date, carried on the earthenware department for many years. His father's letter, of 1849, mentions the fact of his son carrying it on then. He (the son) would only be seven years of age at the time of the trial of 1821. It seems to me that, after the Bevington Company sold out, Mr. L. W. Dillwyn must have taken to the earthenware pottery again, for, in the Swansea *Journal* of 6th September, 1843, the Harbour Trust is said to have paid to Mr. L. W. Dillwyn £2,360 for the wharf at the pottery. That was for the site alongside the "Cambrian,' where stood the "Glamorgan" pottery, and which was acquired from Baker & Co., a few years previously, by Mr. Dillwyn.

In the "Catalogue of Specimens of the Museum of Practical Geology," at Jermyn Street, London, the following appears at page 233:—

* It is clear from Henry Morris' statement to Col. Francis that Bevington made china till the close of his lease (1824).

"An excellent body was finally obtained at Swansea, and, as might be expected, all natural history subjects painted upon it were most carefully executed. . . . The North Devon or Bideford clays seem to have been early employed at the Swansea works, as also the Dorset or Poole clays. Cornish Kaolin and China Stone likewise formed a portion of the porcelain body. Steatite, from the veins in the Serpentine of the Lizard, Cornwall, was also employed during the manufacture of the porcelain. Flints were obtained chiefly in ballast in trading vessels and colliers from the chalk districts of the south and south-east of England.

"As regards marks, Mr. Dillwyn says that 'the articles made at and marked Swansea include all, I believe, which have a more compact fracture, and the addition of a Trident denotes a supposed improvement which was ultimately not found to answer.'"

In Mr. Joseph Marryat's "Pottery and Porcelain" (1850) we find the following:—"Porcelain of a superior quality for some time made at Nantgarrow (*sic*) and Swansea, but the manufacture has been abandoned on account of the expense. . . . . The porcelain there made is much valued by collectors. The manufactory (at Swansea) was carried on by Mr. Dillwyn, who gained great credit for the beauty of its production, but it is now turned into a fine ware pottery establishment, where the classical forms have been studiously adopted. The mark is a Trident stamped in red. The wares produced at Nantgarrow (*sic*) and Swansea were of superior quality to any porcelain that had hitherto been made in this country.

"No expense was spared either in procuring the materials or in conducting the manufactory, and the want of success on the part of the spirited proprietors is to be attributed solely to the deficiency of public patronage. It was found impossible to obtain a remunerative price for the porcelain. Since the discontinuance

of these establishments, the excellent quality of the ware has been more justly estimated, and the prices which are now eagerly given by amateurs and collectors for pieces of Nantgarrow (*sic*) porcelain in particular, are much greater than those originally demanded by the makers."

The "fine ware" above alluded to was the celebrated "Etruscan" imitations turned out by Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn a long time after the porcelain proper had been given up as a product. In reference to this point, a Mr. Evans, who was for many years employed at the "Cambrian" Pottery, Swansea, said to a correspondent in January, 1887, that some fine clay was found at Penllergare; that, when burnt, it came out a beautiful bright red; and it formed, originally, the body of the splendid "Etruscan" ware made at Swansea. This is a thing not generally known. In the Jermyn Street Collection there is a pair of double-handled Tazzi of Greek form (cylix) in red earthenware, painted with glazed black ground, having a female figure and classic border in red. One of them is marked, in black, "Dillwyn's Etruscan Ware," in a floriated scroll; and was presented to the Museum by himself.

With regard to the clays used at Swansea, I have an intelligent witness who, in 1887, stated that he remembered in his youthful days seeing the vessels discharging. He affirms that most of it came from Dorset. That was Mr. Rosser, of Swansea. He was born in 1810, and would be a lad of eleven years old when the trial of Roby and others *v.* Dillwyn took place. He was rather young to take much notice of such a thing; but, if in after years he observed it, the likelihood is that what was done then, was done years previously—say during the porcelain period.

Here it may be well to quote other two works which mention the subject. The first is "The Cambrian Tourist" (London: Edwards & Knibb, 1821). In noticing Swansea, it is stated that

SAUCER (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY POLLARD.

the clay used at the pottery, long carried on at that place, was brought from Corfe, in Dorset. A short description of the manufacture is given, evidently copied from Donovan. The other volume is "The Swansea Guide" (Swansea: H. Griffiths, 1823). It states there were two potteries, the "Cambrian," conducted by T. & J. Bevington, and the "Glamorgan," carried on by Baker, Bevan & Company. Both were said to be situated in "The Strand" (a street), and there is a sketch map of the town given, in which the two factories are placed in juxtaposition, but, if to scale, the "Cambrian" seemed to occupy twice the space of the "Glamorgan." It is also stated that both deserve attention; that the clay was brought from various parts of England; and that many useful and elegant articles were made. That the manufacture was extensive appears evident from the fact that five hundred "hands" were said to be employed. If so, surely such a source of wealth to the population of Swansea should be revived.

Apropos thereof observe the extent of the population of the town, as recorded in the same volume. It is given as follows:

YEAR.	HOUSES.	FAMILIES.	POPULATION.
1801	1,181	1,504	6,099
1811	1,591	1,843	8,166
1821	2,049	2,124	10,255

An old-fashioned woodcut of the castle is given and, incidentally, it is recorded that the seat of Mr. Dillwyn is that of Penllergare, about four miles north-east* of the town.

But let us retrace our steps, and clear up some doubtful points, if possible.

The fact is plain that porcelain was manufactured at Swansea, in 1814, by Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, who it is said, by Jewitt, erected new buildings (kilns, etc.) on the site of a spot previously used

* It is actually about N. N. West.

as a bathing-place. It is also clear that in 1817, on the return of Beeley and Walker to Nantgarw, Mr. D. gave up the porcelain manufacture, leaving it in the hands of Roby and the Bevingtons. But how did the case stand as to finance? To understand the case clearly, it would seem that George Haynes, the elder, left the Cambrian Works in 1810, and the Bevingtons joined Mr. Dillwyn in the management. Then, or subsequently, the concern being divided into tenths, Timothy Bevington (the potter) became possessed of two tenths, and John Bevington (the commercial traveller) obtained one tenth. In August, 1817, when probably Beeley and Walker had left, Mr. Dillwyn proposed to sell six tenths of the remaining seven tenths (his shares). The value of the Works was assessed at £13,000, in addition to debts of £4,200. The six tenths (of £13,000) were disposed of for £7,800 to Mr. John Roby, of Clydach, and Mr. George Haynes, the younger, who was a party to the action subsequently brought in April, 1821. But John Bevington appears to have acquired the odd one tenth from Mr. Dillwyn afterwards. The action was withdrawn. One charge was that a porcelain receipt (or recipe) was withheld, but Mr. Dillwyn alleged that both receipts (probably meaning the Nantgarw one and Swansea "improved" body) were handed to Mr. Timothy Bevington, but not exposed to Mr. John Bevington—indicating that there must have been some disagreement between the Bevingtons.

As to the difference in the receipts it is of importance to note that, in the Jermyn Street Museum, there is a small two-handled vase (P. 30) of white porcelain, with pressed ornament, and impressed mark "Swansea." It was presented by Mrs. Dillwyn. A note in the catalogue states: "This vase is of the same body or paste as the specimens of Nantgarw porcelain, and was an experimental piece made on trial, in 1814 or 1815, to render the body more durable." This confirms what Mr. Dillwyn has stated—that

experiments were made to obtain a more "compact fracture," doubtless to stand the firing better and prevent "wasters."

The inability of the new Company to make the same quality of porcelain; the evident disagreement between the Bevingtons; and, probably, the others as well, led up to an alleged sale at the Works. But when was that? Mr. Rose, of Coalport, is said to have bought the moulds, etc. He evidently did the same at Nantgarw in October, 1822, and it is not unlikely that some of the Swansea materials (for porcelain purposes only) were bought by him about the same time. Doubtless, it was only the porcelain section. He would not require anything else. Besides, in Griffiths' Guide of 1823 we have the fact that Bevington & Co. were there then. But Mr. Dillwyn took again to the earthenware division, probably in 1824, when the lease (seven years) had run out. He did not, in all likelihood, care about the porcelain section being retained, as it had been so "troublesome" to him. He would have another manager (probably James Hinckley) till his son grew up to take charge of the business. That would not be long—only a few years—as the late Mr. L. W. Dillwyn appears to have had precocious talents and steadiness. The subsequent history of the "Cambrian" has been given already, but it is worth while quoting the letter of Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn, in 1840, when he proposed to re-constitute the porcelain manufacture by having a good man to do the work. He wrote to Messrs. Brameld, of Rotherham, in the following terms:—

"Burrows Lodge, Swansea,

"June 1st, 1840.

"Gentlemen,

"I am altogether unacquainted with the china manufacture, and should decline any partnership in one. I have, however, no doubt that china may be manufactured very profitably at Swansea, and should rejoice to see a manufactory established here. I am

also convinced that a china and earthenware factory might very materially assist each other in many ways. On these accounts I have made an arrangement, at some inconvenience to myself, by which I shall be enabled to let you the Glamorgan Pottery, which, I should think, was in every way well calculated for a china works. I am ready also to let the premises to you on lower terms than I should have expected from any other party. The terms I would let them upon to you would be £300 per annum, with a stipulation on your part that nothing but china of the best transparent body should be manufactured upon them. Should you think this offer worth your consideration, if one of your firm will come down I shall be happy to show him everything in my power.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Yours very truly,

"L. L. DILLWYN.

"Messrs. Brameld & Co., near Rotherham."

Mr. Jewitt seems to have got this letter from the Rotherham firm or their representatives, for he says there is a pencilled note at foot of the above quoted letter to this effect: "Too high, unless a good mill with it."

The negotiation fell through, for, as already stated, Mr. Dillwyn sold the "Glamorgan" for another purpose, but carried on the "Cambrian" for another ten years. About the years 1845-6 he produced the famous imitation of Etruscan ware. One writer has described it as having a fine, rich body, with the borders painted up to the outlines in fine black, covering the original red Etruscan figures. The effect was very good. There was not much made, as it was not a ware to command a ready sale to the general public. Some specimens are preserved at Jermyn Street Museum, London, and at the Royal Institution, Swansea. The forms were copied from those in the Vatican, the British Museum,

or from Sir William Hamilton's work entitled: "Antiquités, Etrusques, Grecques et Romains."

It will readily be inferred that Mr. Dillwyn, judging from the terms of the letter to Messrs. Brameld, was most anxious to benefit Swansea by re-introducing the manufacture of high-class porcelain again. He was also ready to make a sacrifice to that end in order to secure the services and workmanship of a first-rate firm of potters. The letter also indicates that he knew nothing of the manufacture of china himself, and his father, being then sixty-two years old, and engaged in other pursuits, would not, probably, again interest himself personally in it. In fact, he had said when he dropped the making of it in 1817 it was too "troublesome" for him to continue it. At that time the son was only three years old, and we may also conclude from the terms of the epistle, that he (L. Ll. D.) had never made any china during his surveillance of the pot-works.

As already stated, Mr. David Evans acquired the Cambrian Pottery in 1850, and carried the works on till 1859, under the style of Evans, Glasson & Evans; after which date the firm became that of Evans & Co., and subsequently P. J. Evans and Co. The products were the ordinary class of white, blue and white, and agate earthenware. They found their principal markets in Wales, Ireland, the West of England, and Chili. Some of the old "wares" of Swansea are frequently to be met with to this day in the towns of North Devon; to wit, such out of the way places as Clovelly.

The old "Cambrian" Potworks was closed finally in 1870, as already described.

After the "Cambrian" the "Glamorgan" appears to have been the next pottery in importance at Swansea. Mr. Jewitt, in his "Ceramic Art," says that it was built in the year 1816 by "Messrs. Baker, Bevan & Herwain." He further states that

it was carried on by them till 1839, when it was bought by Mr. Dillwyn, who, next year, offered it to Messrs. Brameld (see *ante*). Mr. Baker, he adds, at one time had another small pottery for fine earthenware near the river in another part of Swansea. This statement is not quite "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." In the "Swansea Directory," published at Bristol by William Mathews, and completed up to October, 1816, it is stated that the "Glamorgan" Pottery was established by Baker & Co. about three years ago; this would mean 1813 or 1814. The clay is therein stated to have been obtained from various parts of England; and, probably, meant Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. In the "Swansea Guide," published in 1823 at Swansea by H. Griffiths, there is a plan of the two potteries, Cambrian and Glamorgan, close together. In another guide book of 1823 it is also mentioned as being managed by Baker & Company. But there is personal evidence as well of its period of origin. Mr. Lewis Evans (nephew of the late Mr. David Evans, who was lessee of the "Cambrian") informed a correspondent in December, 1892, that he was sagger-maker at the "Cambrian" for twenty-five years, from 1843; and that the "Glamorgan" was only separated from the other pottery by a swing-bridge, and that the former had been in existence fully thirty years before the time he started at the "Cambrian" in 1843. That would take it back to 1813 or 1814, as above stated. He said that Mr. Dillwyn purchased the "Glamorgan" in 1838 (? 1839 per Jewitt), and afterwards sold it to Townsend, Ward & Co., iron merchants. Only earthenware, he said, was made therein, and that it was never worked as a pottery by Mr. Dillwyn.

Then, a glimpse is caught of this matter in a pamphlet published by T. & J. Allman, London, 1821. It is entitled "The Substance of Three Reports made to the Inhabitants of Swansea, etc., in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820," on the management of

the poor. At page 13 it states that the town and franchise of Swansea . . . extends rather more than a mile to the environs, and embraces a population of above 12,000 souls.* That, with the exception of two potteries, employing about 400 persons, the inhabitants are mainly employed in the neighbouring copper-works, collieries, and the labour afforded by a seaport. Again, in Mathews' Swansea Directory of 1830, it is stated that the "Cambrian" Pottery was carried on by Dillwyn & Co., and the "Glamorgan" by Baker, Bevan & Co. It is also stated, *inter alia*, that the ware produced was of excellent quality and beauty; that it was sent to Devon, Cornwall, and various parts of England in large quantities. It likewise states that it was exported to France, Spain, and America. Finally, that a great number of "hands" were employed. This brings us to within about eight or nine years of the extinction of the "Glamorgan" Works. Mr. Baker, it is said, served a period at the old "Cambrian." He may have acquired a certain amount of knowledge of the "receipts," which were then (as now) jealously guarded at pot-works. There is little doubt that the porcelain was not made there. But Mr. Baker's knowledge of the manufacture no doubt enabled him to produce at the "Glamorgan" a similar ware to that called "opaque china." It was at this pottery that a peculiar form of ornament —also used as a vessel for holding milk at table—was manufactured. The shape was that of a cow; and a fair imitation it was of the animal. In length about six inches, and about four high, it had a small lid on the back for pouring in the milk, which was ejected from the mouth for use. A curl of the tail over the haunch served for the handle. The "body" was evidently an imitation of Hayne's "opaque china," but of course, like that, it was really only a better class of earthenware. A good glaze and a transfer, representing a Swiss cottage, trees, well, boat, and figures,

* The census of 1821 gave 10,255, actual figures.

completed the compound utensil, cheaply made, and yet of somewhat artistic appearance. It was made by the thousand, and many were exported, especially to France, for it was very much in request by the masters of the French vessels which then frequented the port. It was marked in script letters with the legend "opaque china, B. B. & I.," surrounded by a scroll. The initials are distinctly those of Baker, Bevans, & Irwin—not "Herwain," as stated by Jewitt. He evidently means the same thing. Probably he got his information from a correspondent who had never seen the "marks," but heard the name from someone fond of adding the aspirate to the vowel. A friend has shown me a small earthenware plate, in blue transfer, with Baker, Bevans, and Irwin, and No. 5 impressed, also No. 10, in red upon it. The body of the so called "opaque china," by Baker & Co. was not equal in quality to that made at the "Cambrian" pottery by Haynes and Dillwyn. A similar body is made by many factories at the present time, simply as fine earthenware. The "Penny Cyclopædia," published in 1842, records the fact that Swansea had two potteries at that time. The "Glamorgan" was bought by Dillwyn in 1838 or 1839, and not used afterwards by him as a pottery. It was offered by him, in 1840, to Brameld, and afterwards sold to the firm of iron merchants, who used it for their own purposes. It could not, therefore, be one of the two mentioned. The "Cambrian" was one; and this note gives colour to the statement of Jewitt, that Baker, Bevan & Co. had a second pottery of their own. It may have been so, but, so far, any other specific confirmation cannot be traced. The next link is found in "The Book of South Wales," published by Hamilton, Adams, & Co., London, in 1848. At page 187 it is stated that "Extensive potteries have been carried on here (Swansea) for many years." The word "potteries" is in the plural, but is often used to describe only one factory.

In the "Swansea Guide," by John Lewis, 1851, it is recorded that there was an extensive pottery carried on by Evans and Glasson in the Strand. No name is given, but it must have been the "Cambrian," because of its situation, and the fact that Mr. Evans (Dillwyn's manager) had, shortly before, acquired the "Cambrian." A very crude description of it is given. Another smaller pottery is mentioned as situated on the site of the old Gas works. The proprietor was Mr. Samuel Mead (formerly employed at the "Cambrian"), who was said to manufacture a "hardware of superior quality." Doubtless, "stoneware" was meant. This one was long known as "Mead's Pottery," and subsequently became the property of Mr. Ricketts, of Dyvatty Street, who dismantled it only a few years ago. This is regrettable for the sake of Swansea, as it leaves no trace now of a manufacture for which the town was really famous. Besides, Mr. Ricketts carried on a fair amount of work. He made a good stoneware, also earthenware teapots, jugs, etc.; and could put as many as 1,100 pieces in one kiln. His plan was to mix the three clays of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, as, when so mixed, they "fired" better, and were not so liable to blister.

Turning back again, it will be found in "Blackie's Gazetteer" for 1855, published at Glasgow, under the article "Swansea," it is noted that there were two extensive potteries. Doubtless, they were the "Cambrian" and "Mead's." In "Pearce's Directory" for 1856, of Swansea, it is recorded that "potteries" existed there. The word is plural, and no doubt meant the "Cambrian" and "Mead's." In the "Bristol and South Wales Directory" for 1865, the word "potteries" appears as one phase of the manufactures carried on at Swansea.

With regard to the origin of the "Glamorgan" Pottery, a light is thrown on the subject by the reports and results of a suit at law in 1810 between Mr. L. W. Dillwyn and Mr. George

Haynes. It appears from these memoranda that the "Cambrian" Pottery was bought in May, 1802, for £16,000, and Mr. Dillwyn subsequently spent £7,000 on it. Mr. Haynes agreed to remain as manager for seven years, and at the expiry of the period remained by consent for another nine months, which ended in March, 1810. Meantime, two disputes arose—one was as to the curtailment of the supply of water from the "Burlais Brook," in 1805, the conditions of agreement of which had not been properly explained by Mr. Haynes as alleged by Mr. Dillwyn. This disagreement was patched up, and a sum of £1,600 was spent upon a steam engine as an aid to the curtailed water power. But in 1809 another source of ill-will arose: Mr. Haynes, in conjunction with a Mr. Pocklington and a Mr. Hendrie, built a soap works close to the "Cambrian" factory. The stench arising therefrom became a nuisance; it injured the health of the employés, and several names are mentioned as witnesses for the trial. Those were Mr. Green, "confidential agent" for the "Cambrian" Company for thirteen years; he gave notice to terminate his employment in consequence of the stench injuring his health. There were also Ralph Leigh, Josiah Ball, and Thomas David, described as "principal hands," and a girl named Sarah Rees, who was learning the art of painting at the pottery. It is stated that one hundred and forty people were employed, and nearly all of them complained of the nuisance. Persons from outside the works were also nominated as witnesses on the same side. Another plea for the discontinuance of the nuisance was because "the works were a favourite lounge for genteel visitors," and they were driven away by the stench from the soap works.

This seems a singular allegation, but it must be remembered that a bath-house had been erected by Mr. Haynes before leasing to Mr. Dillwyn. The bath rooms were alongside the pottery, and afterwards formed what was termed the "china side." The

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY MORRIS.

east end was close to the river Tawe, a stream comparatively uncontaminated in those days, and the works were surrounded by green fields, being a quarter of a mile from the then limits of the town population. It is an interesting historical event that the great Nelson visited the factory in 1802; that he took a bath in the bath-house, and the room in which the hero bathed was called "Nelson's Room" long after the transformation into a China Works took place. Nelson also had a set of ware sent to him to his seat at Merton, Surrey. By the kindness of Miss Dillwyn, I am able to record herein a copy of a letter relating thereto. I have seen and read the original. It is as follows:—

"Merton, Dec. 7th, 1802.

"Gentlemen,

"I shall be very happy in receiving your pottery and if you will have the goodness to tell me who to pay it to in London, it shall be done with pleasure. I hope that its being used by me may be of service to your Infant Manufactory.

"I am, Gentlemen, with many thanks for your kind attention in showing me your Works,

"Your most obliged, humble servant,

"Nelson & Bronte.

"Messrs. Haynes, Dillwyn, & Co."

No doubt every effort would be put forth to decorate a service for such a man as Nelson. Was it of "opaque china," and who painted it? Young did not go to Swansea pottery till January, 1803, as appears by his wife's diary.

Thomas Pardoe and Evan Evans were the only free-hand decorators there in 1802, excepting Miss Harley, so far as we know. Rothwell (engraver) was sixty years old then, and died five years afterwards at Birmingham. The probability is that Thomas Pardoe decorated the Nelson service. It would be interesting to trace any of it that may be left.

The place, no doubt, was one of fashionable resort, especially during the summer or bathing season, and this plea was a reasonable one. Mr. Dillwyn offered £500 to abate the nuisance. He was defied and told to go to law. Meantime, he received a threat of another pottery being started. Haynes denied that he had said so, but admitted that the threat had been uttered by his partners. This was the first intimation of the "Glamorgan" coming into existence. The result was that Dillwyn gained the suit with damages, £10. The foundation of the new pottery was actually commenced in 1810; but after the action a compromise was effected. The site and that of the soap works were taken over by Dillwyn to extend the area of the "Cambrian," as business had so much increased. Nevertheless, Haynes subsequently formed another Company to build the "Glamorgan" Works, which were opened in 1814; and his son-in-law*—Mr. Baker—was appointed managing partner.

Another incident in the career of the Swansea potteries is in relation to the unfortunate Queen Caroline. In the early part of the year 1821 it was resolved by a few people at Swansea to

* In notes to Mr. Dillwyn's "Contributions to a History of Swansea," by the late Col. Grant Francis, it is said that in the chancel of St. Mary's Parish Church—the old Church—there is a tablet to the memory of Mr. Baker. It reads as follows:—

"Sacred to the memory of
WILLIAM BAKER, GENT.,
Founder, and one of the principal proprietors of the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea.
"A suavity of manners, an unassuming mind,
A judgment mild, unprejudiced, tolerating,
A gentle nature and an unbounded philanthropy
Endeared him to a large circle of all classes,
And won him the best wishes of every sect.
A warm friend to every useful and elegant art,
And such an ingenious, profound a man that—
'Nullum quod tetiget non ornavit,'
Applied to the versatile talents of the learned Goldsmith,
Might well apply to him.
Ob Junii 15-1819, Ætat 50.
"This distinguished tribute to departed worth was placed here by a few friends who valued his life and lamented his death."

Mr. Baker must have been a remarkable man to evoke such a tribute to his memory. But, singularly enough, it was not the "Cambrian"—but the rival pottery—the "Glamorgan" he was a founder and part proprietor of. He was born just a year or two after the "Cambrian" was founded. The error is obvious. Strange it should have been so long hid!

make a present of a service of china to her. In the *Cambrian* newspaper of 17th February, 1821, there is a statement that "Swansea China being unrivalled, it is proposed to offer specimens to the Queen. Subscriptions are invited for the purpose, and to be lodged with Mr. Francis." There is no record in that paper of the presentation having been made; and the Queen died on the 7th August following. Curiously enough, I have discovered that Dr. Griffiths, of Pontardawe, has a plate with Queen Caroline's portrait thereon in dark monochrome. It is certainly not the best Swansea paste, nor is it of any decorative value. It may even be but an imitation of the original. It, however, shows that the idea was carried out in part, even if the presentation was never accomplished.

The history of the Ceramic manufactures at Swansea is not only interesting, but, in some points, it is unique. The period, for all the potteries, covered about one hundred and twenty years. The first was started for earthenware about the time that the English potteries were budding into porcelain factories. About twenty years afterwards it produced the so-called "opaque china," but not till 1814 did the real porcelain come forth from its kilns. That, unfortunately, only lasted for the short period of about ten years; but the scientific excellence of some of its paste, and the artistic decorations, have given that period a fame which holds good and is likely to continue as long as specimens can be obtained by connoisseurs. This is one part of its uniqueness. Another was the "opaque" period. When Haynes invented that superior ware he had Rothwell as decorator. Specimens of this decoration cannot now be traced, but the fact of Rothwell being selected to engrave for the *Pocket Magazine* some of the drawings of Turner—the greatest of our English painters—is a proof of the Swansea decorator's ability to do good work. Following him we have Thomas Pardoe and William Weston

Young, of whose first-class paintings of natural objects on the "opaque china" or earthenware we have many specimens extant.

Donovan has given us elaborate testimony of the excellence of his work, and, probably, he includes Rothwell and Pardoe also in his critique. But we have another authority of that early day in the person of the famous Mrs. Thrale (or Piozzi). The following is a copy of a letter which she wrote to Sir James Fellowes :—

"Bath, Thursday, 15th October, 1808.

* * * * * * * * * *

"When you feel your own purse too heavy, take it to Mortlock's in Oxford Street, and carry Lady Fellowes a beautiful specimen of South Wales china, and tell him (Mortlock) that I am panting for my ice-pails and large dishes to use this day se'night."

About this time Pardoe was painting at Swansea. Young had left previously to go to Newton Nottage. But, no doubt, their decorations were the chief cause of the fame of the "opaque china." The letter of Mrs. Thrale lets us know the fact that Mortlock was then dealing with the Swansea patterns six years before the advent of Billingsley in that town. The ware must have obtained more than a local reputation, having got into the metropolitan market and into the hands of one of its more prominent dealers. Mrs. Thrale was of Welsh extraction and may have been influenced by national feeling, but still we have Donovan's testimony, and the fact of the ware being taken up by a London dealer of great repute. Mrs. Thrale's maiden name was Salusbury. She was the daughter of John Salusbury, Esquire, of Bodvel, Carnarvonshire. She was born on the 27th January, 1741, and married Mr. Henry Thrale, an opulent brewer of Southwark, London, in 1763. He died in 1781. She married again, in 1784, Mr. Gabriel Piozzi, an Italian music teacher, of Bath. She died at Clifton in 1821. As Mrs. Piozzi she wrote the above quoted letter, but was better known as Mrs. Thrale, the

intimate friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous lexicographer, who died in 1784. Mrs. Thrale had a reputation as a *dilettante*; was possessed of great wealth and social influence in a section of London society, and, doubtless, her testimony is of some value.

The artists who decorated the opaque china were Rothwell, Pardoe, Young, Evan Evans, and Miss Harley; that is, so far as I can trace them. Rothwell died before the porcelain period. Pardoe removed to Bristol in 1809. He subsequently came to Nantgarw, but it is not known whether he ever painted any of the real Swansea china. Young, however, though residing at a distance, most probably did so, as he was connected, in some way or other, with both works up to about the year 1823, when he left for Stoke Prior.

Mr. Jewitt gives the artists of the porcelain period as follows:—Young; Pardoe, an excellent flower painter; Baxter, a figure painter; Bevington, a flower painter; Reed, a modeller of repute; Hood, a clever modeller; Jenny, a gold tracer; Morris, a fruit painter; Beddoes, best heraldic painter; Colclough, a painter of birds—much admired; Evans, a talented flower painter; and Billingsley, the best painter of flowers. These men have been noticed, as far as their history can be traced, in another part of this volume. But with regard to Morris it may be of use here to recall the fact that he was not only a fruit painter, as stated by Jewitt, but he was a disciple of Billingsley in flower painting, and imitated him so closely that his work has been mistaken for his master's. There are very good "figure subjects" on the Swansea old china, which cannot be attributed to Baxter, whose style is well-known. Who painted those figures? There are also flowers and groupings of flowers, but it is difficult to say who painted them.

In such a study, it is of importance to know to whom to attribute any particular excellence; but after the lapse of over seventy years, it is most difficult to trace identities with certainty.

For instance, Colonel Morgan, of Swansea, has some rare specimens of good paste, and beautifully painted with birds (eagle, woodcock, stork, etc.) Who was the artist? They were done by a superior hand, but cannot be identified with the known styles of anyone. It would be instructive to know and to relegate to one individual the merit due to him. They may have been painted by Colclough, if Jewitt is correct in stating that he was one of the best of the Swansea decorators, and an admired painter of birds.

With regard to the other names mentioned on page 59, I found George Beddow, China Painter, recorded in the register of marriages at Swansea in 1813, and in the register of births in 1816 and 1824. He is probably the "Beddoes" named by Jewitt. I cannot find that he is celebrated in heraldry decoration. Several persons gave me "second-hand" information regarding him, and their traditional statements were that he generally painted landscapes on the china. I was shown specimens that were said to be done by him.

Regarding the name of "Evans," I find there were two—Evan Evans and David Evans, both flower painters. So far as I can trace they were uncle and nephew. Evan Evans was at the "Cambrian" at the end of last century. He probably assisted Rothwell and Pardoe in painting on the "opaque china" and earthenware. He died in Swansea. David Evans was rather famous locally as a flower painter, and also as a fruit painter. He left for Staffordshire when the China Works closed at Swansea, and joined Copeland's staff. This fact was a proof in itself that he was a good hand. I give some further particulars of him in the biographical notices herein.

"Hood, a clever modeller," I cannot trace. There was Isaac Wood from Burslem, who was a "clever modeller." The names may have got mixed. "Reed, a modeller of repute," I cannot trace either. Goodsby,* from Derby, is mentioned by Henry Morris

as a modeller of flowers ; but there is no resemblance between "Reed" and "Goodsby." "Jenny, a gold tracer," I cannot trace ; but Morris, in his statement, mentions De Iunic, a French artist, as being at Swansea. It is certain that a number of specimens in the collections about Swansea are decorated in the French style of gold tracing ; and there is a tradition that a French artist was at the works. The word "De Iunic" may have been misprinted. It may have been De Junic or De Junie. The misdeeds of the "P. D." that way are something awful, and Mr. Jewitt may have suffered, like many others, from the same cause. Hence, I am inclined to think that his "Jenny," the "gold tracer," is identical with the Frenchman called "De Iunic," mutated into Junic, Junie, or Jenny.

The rest of the list are more or less identical, excepting "Bevington, a flower painter." After prolonged and exhaustive inquiry I have come to the conclusion that there was no such painter. In certain art circles it had been usual to identify a particular style of decoration with the name of Bevington. But that style is the mannerism of Pollard. For instance, in the list of one of our best public collections, eight years ago, I found the following, amongst other similar paragraphs : "Swansea ; china plate ; impressed mark, 'SWANSEA,' and trident. Painted in masterly style with roses, carnations, stock, tulip, etc. A most beautiful plate. Painted by Bevington, who was second only to Billingsley as a flower painter." This is exactly what should be said of Pollard and his style. Hence, I think, Jewitt must have been misled ; and, I am afraid he has thus been the vehicle of misleading many others. Timothy Bevington was a potter, and John Bevington (son of Timothy) was the commercial traveller for years at the "Cambrian." They, also, became part proprietors as stated already. There were other branches of the family, but only

* Query.—Can this be the James Goadsby of Derby?

one, so far as I can trace, who painted on china. That was Hannah, the daughter of Timothy Bevington. She painted very nicely indeed—much above the average of the "paintresses" at the "Cambrian." I have seen a tea-set decorated by her in monochrome. But no one with any taste for, or experience of Ceramics would attribute it to Pollard's work, or as being "second only to Billingsley." I submit, respectfully, that Pollard has been discovered, and that he has been evolved out of the shade of Bevington.

I also "discovered" other two china painters at Swansea. They were William Williams and Thomas Thomas. I need not say they were Welshmen. Particulars of them appear in another part of this volume. I regret very much that, notwithstanding many personal inquiries and a large correspondence, I have failed to secure the materials for a biographical notice and exact identification of the work of David Evans,* Colclough, and "De Iunic"—the Frenchman. So far as I can gather all the *names* of the male artists and china painters at the Swansea porcelain works have been secured, save one. He is "the unknown." He is the artist (not of the first rank) who painted as a mannerism what Mr. Drane calls the "bearded or hairy tulip." Can he be an artist named Turncliffe? He is another Ceramic shadow whom I have been unable to "run to earth" further than to get his name.

In addition to the "males" there were a number of female painters at the Works. They were: Miss Harley, in 1802; Miss Sarah Rees, in 1810; Miss Lavinia Billingsley, 1814 to 1817; Miss Hannah Bevington (?), 1817 to 1824; Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Richardson, and Mrs. Harris, at various periods from 1808 up to the close of the factory. The work done by them was of rather a superior character, so far as I can discover; and was mostly on the "opaque china" and earthenware. There were a number of

* Since this was in type I have discovered, in the collection of Sir Alfred S. Haslam, a specimen of David Evans' flower painting. It is reproduced herein in collotype.

other "paintresses" on the earthenware of both factories—Cambrian and Glamorgan. Their names and particulars are set forth under another section, to the extent I was enabled to discover regarding them.

I have also "discovered" John Stanway Brown. He was an engraver, and did the decorative work during the short "Etruscan" period. He was at the "Cambrian" about ten years in all. His particulars are also noted in a page further on.

Another artist or engraver of Swansea ware was James Brindley. Mr. Dobbs, china dealer, Cardiff, has a porcelain plate decorated by him. The plate is probably the later* Swansea ware, and is ornamented in black shading very nicely with a view of the Mumbles. James Brindley was an engraver at the Belleek Pottery in Ireland, which was established in 1857. A plate of Belleek earthenware is in the Jermyn Street Museum, "printed in *black*" over the glaze with a female figure, etc. It is signed "Engrav'd by James Brindley." If he was about fifty to sixty years old then, it is quite possible that he may have been the same man who decorated the Swansea plate above named.

Regarding Miss Harley, who painted at Swansea, Mr. Seward, architect, of Cardiff, has a jug of "opaque china." A scroll on it bears the legend, "painted by Miss Harley, 1802." It has a bull-finch in colours on the body with oak leaves and acorns on the rim. It is fairly well decorated, and holds up for artistic merit the period after Rothwell; when Young was beginning his career at the "Cambrian," and when Thomas Pardoe was there.

Another point in regard to the "Cambrian" Pottery is worth a note. That is the use of "Tokens" to pay the workmen with. The late George Grant Francis, of Swansea, in a publication of his, states that the use of "Tokens" by private individuals or

* It may have been from the Bevington stock mentioned by Morris; or it may have been one of those pieces brought from Staffordshire by Brindley.

firms was suppressed in 1813; but that they were used at Swansea till the year 1825. There is a specimen one at the Royal Institution Museum at Swansea at the present day. It is of copper, and is stamped as follows:—Obverse—"One penny token, Swansea and South Wales, 1813." Reverse—"Payable at the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea—L. W. Dillwyn, T. Bevington, and J. Bevington." The legend helps to confirm the fact of the partnership of Dillwyn and the Bevingtons in 1813.

Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, has a similar one; and so has Mr. George Llewelyn Pardoe (grandson of Thomas Pardoe, the china painter), of Merthyr Vale.

Another feature is as to the the number of "hands" employed. One of the works quoted above, that of Messrs. Allman, published in 1821, states four hundred persons obtained work at the two potteries, the "Cambrian" and the "Glamorgan."

Another volume stated that 500 persons were employed—see Griffith's Swansea Guide, 1823. As a corrective to these statements I give the following list, obtained from Mr. Lewis Evans, who is mentioned herein already. He jotted down the numbers, etc., from memory, as an approximation. The list would apply to the workmen, etc., employed at the "Cambrian" after Mr. Dillwyn had disposed of the Works to Mr. David Evans—the uncle of my informant. It will be remembered that Mr. Lewis Evans was employed at the "Cambrian" for a quarter of a century under both of the proprietors mentioned. His enumeration is as follows:

Turners	7
Handlers	6
Throwers	3
Dip turners	3
Pressers	10
Carried forward	29

CUPS (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

Brought forward	29
Bowl makers	2
Saucer makers	2
Plate makers	4
Dish makers	2
Printers	4
Transferers	8
Attendants on ditto	10
Enamel printers	8
Common printers	10
Biscuit firemen	2
Biscuit place-men	4
Gloss firemen	1
Gloss place-men	6
Dippers and boys	8
Slip makers...	7
Crate makers	4
Packers	6
Dressers	6
Warehouseman and girls	6
Warehouseman and women	3
Saddle boys...	6
Triangle women	3
Saggermen	2
Cartmen	3
Labourers	2
Mill men	6
Girls	4
Office clerks	3
Manager	1
Total	162

The number stated by Allman, in 1821, was 400; and by Griffiths, in 1823, was 500. The above number of 160 is considerably short of those two figures; but it must be borne in mind that, in 1821 and 1823, the "Glamorgan" Pottery was in existence, and was about half the size of the "Cambrian." It is probable, nay, almost certain, that the business of the "Cambrian" had fallen off in the course of twenty years. It is very likely, too, that Mr. Evans may have forgotten some of the workmen and their numbers. If so, and taking the other facts into consideration, it seems likely enough that the lower figure of 400, at all events, is not over-enumerated.

In another part of this book the merit and quality of the Swansea porcelain has been commented on. Therefore, a very few words are here required on that ground. On referring to the extracts given from the pamphlets of Mr. Dillwyn, and that of Mr. Roby regarding the trial case at Cardiff in 1821, it will be seen that there were two distinct receipts used for the "body," and other two for corresponding glazes. The allegation of Mr. Roby was that Mr. Dillwyn acted unfairly in withholding, from the new Company, the Nantgarw receipt. Hence they could not, it is inferred, succeed with their goods in the London market, as before. Mr. Dillwyn rebuts the charge, and says that both receipts were handed over to Timothy Bevington, but not to John Bevington. The latter had shares in the new Company as well as in the old one, and, as far as we can judge now, should have been treated with the same amount of confidence as his father. Whether the elder Bevington was at loggerheads with his son and the others of the new Company does not transpire; but an inference of that kind may be deduced from Mr. Dillwyn's general remarks upon the trial case. Passing that part of the inquiry, it seems pretty plain that Billingsley's receipt—the one invented by him, and which was really the original Nantgarw

receipt—was the one which took best in the London market. It has about the same amount of "translucency" as glass, without the glassy tendency to fracture so easily, being of the nature of a felspathic substance, and not quite so vitreous as glass. Its rare beauty strikes the most untutored eye. Well, this "body" was made at Swansea in 1814, and, more or less, in the two following years, so far as the truth can be gathered on the subject. On it no "Trident" was ever stamped. That, according to Mr. Dillwyn, was to mark a superior body, having a "more compact fracture." Mr. Dillwyn had been disgusted at the amount of "wasters" in the firing of the Nantgarw body. He, therefore, with the aid of some scientific friends, produced this improved body, which, doubtless, was simply owing to a larger quantity of china clay (Kaolin) being put into the paste. The body was stamped "Swansea," and a Trident impressed as well. The new product came out more abundantly in 1817, the very year that the Nantgarw potter-pilgrims returned to the vicinity of the "Rough-brook." We have heard of people and things being "improved off the face of the earth." Mr. Dillwyn's new receipt did not altogether accomplish that feat; but Roby & Company seemed to come to the conclusion that there was a strong leaning that way. Mr. Dillwyn, having elaborated or invented the new body, was naturally prejudiced in its favour. He, rather curiously, says in this pamphlet that it was admitted Swansea China had become celebrated in the London market in the year 1817. But it was rather singular that the new "body" should have leaped into fame at the very hour, so to speak, of its birth. Rather it was, as already stated herein, the legal or technical way of stating the case.

It appears more reasonable to suppose that Billingsley's receipt (or even a modification of it) had achieved the success so claimed. Billingsley's sole aim in life appeared to be to produce

an artificial paste that would be equal, if not superior, to the old Sèvres ware. Hence, he would simply abhor the new body; and endeavour to get at Mortlock (through the personal representation of Walker) to push on his own peculiar production. Roby's argument strengthens this view, and the opinion of experts at the present time, as to the quality of the two bodies, is undoubtedly in favour of the earlier production.

It may, however, be broadly stated that the early Nantgarw and Swansea bodies were both of the finest paste, and specimens are now most valuable. It was a "soft" paste, a *pâte tendre* in reality, and the later body was a comparatively "hard" paste porcelain. There is also a peculiarity in some of the "Swansea" in having a greenish hue in its transparency; and, more seldom, in other cases, a peculiar dinginess or smoky appearance in the paste. There is no doubt, however, that the earlier "Swansea" made from Beeley's receipt is quite equal to the best Nantgarw, and even the "old Sèvres," in the translucent purity of the body. It seems a pity that Mr. Dillwyn ever attempted to "improve" the paste. It would have been more sensible and evidently more successful pecuniarily, to have improved the kilns and the mode of treating the "soft" body. It was found, as a fact, at Nantgarw that Young and Pardoe with their harder paste made more "wasters" than Beeley and Walker did with theirs. This fact I had from a workman who served under both sets of men.

In Mr. Dillwyn's letter of 5th June, 1849, to Dr. Lardner, he says, plainly enough, that nearly all the granulated porcelain made at Swansea was stamped "Nantgarw." He also says that he succeeded, with the assistance of some scientific friends, in making a fairly good porcelain with a "compact fracture." It was mostly marked "Swansea" and sometimes with a Trident. In his letter to Sir H. De la Beche, Mr. Dillwyn says that the pieces marked "Swansea" all have a more "compact fracture"; and the

addition of a Trident denoted a supposed improvement, which was ultimately found not to answer.

In the statement made by Henry Morris to Col. Grant Francis in 1850, it is recorded that Walker assisted Mr. Dillwyn in making a body more safe for firing (that is, of a more "compact fracture"), but the quality of which was inferior to that formerly made.

It is well known that there are three kinds of Swansea hand-painted porcelain. Two are indicated above, and both are distinguishable. The third is found in most abundance. It has a peculiar *dead* whiteness in the glaze, which was good and does not craze much. The body is fairly translucent. I am of opinion that Bevington & Co., after finding they had not got the best "Nantgarw" receipt, endeavoured to construct one of their own; or, perhaps, it was one of the two handed over by Dillwyn to Timothy Bevington. It is quite possible that Beeley & Walker, on leaving Swansea, took away their own special receipt by which they were seeking fame and fortune. The secrets of porcelain making were jealously guarded at that time. It is quite possible, nay, judging from the whole tenour of his life, likely, that Beeley had a kind of mania so far as his receipts were concerned. Therefore, nothing was easier for him than to hand over an inferior one.

There is a fourth variety of alleged Swansea china, which is often pointed out by collectors. Some of it has dates upon it long subsequent to the china works, and other varieties of it have views of the neighbourhood in transfer or painted in monochrome. The evidence is overpowering that no regular manufacture of china at Swansea took place after the close of the Bevington lease in 1824.* Mr. Henry Morris said so to Col.

* Mr. Pollard Lewis, of Llanelly, informs me that he met Miss Bevington at Ettington about twenty years ago, and she informed him that the Bevingtons were the last of the potters to make china at Swansea. As their lease expired in 1824, that is a strong confirmation of what Henry Morris stated. She mentioned an incident as showing the accuracy of her memory, and her interest in the business.

Francis, *vide* the statement herein, only he gave the year as "about 1823." Even that year is possible enough, as two years' notice would determine the taking of the china kilns; and, moreover, it is very possible that Bevington may have relinquished making it some months before he vacated the Works. Morris says there was a quantity yet in stock, which was removed from the Cambrian factory to the Pipe Works at the Hafod, and there painted, enamelled, and sold. The Pipe Works belonged to the Bevingtons, and were worked by them years afterwards. Morris says he was one of the last to paint on the real Swansea china. Wm. Rees, presser, and other workmen who went to the Pottery in the "Thirties," all say that no china was made in their time, and they always understood from the older workmen that the china manufacture was closed at the expiry of the lease. The only one who casts a doubt is Edward Thomas, gloss fireman. He went to the "Cambrian" in 1837, at about nine years of age; but before then he used to take his father's meals to the factory. His childish mind was impressed by seeing a quantity of burnt bones sometimes. Bones were only used in porcelain manufacture. Why were they there? But he never saw bones used after he went to work. It is strange that a man who worked there for thirty odd years should never get the proper explanation.

It was that the very last consignment of ware made to America was valued at £3,000, and never was paid for. She did not state whether it was porcelain or earthenware, or what. But the fact proves that the Bevingtons were doing a very large business up to the very end of their rental of the "Cambrian" pottery at Swansea.

Another authority on the point is Dr. Simeon Shaw, who published a Work on porcelain in 1837. He says, therein, that he went to Swansea in 1831, and visited both the "Cambrian" and "Glamorgan" potteries, and conversed with several of the workmen.

The *china* department at "Dillwyn's" was discontinued (he says) because Mr. Dillwyn was disgusted at the frequent failures in the kilns, and the loss of capital thus incurred.

He does not mention the exact year, but the time he was there (1831) was only seven years after 1824—the close of the lease. This disposes of Edward Thomas' suggestion about the calcined bones seen by him years after Dr. Shaw was there. It also finishes the theory of those who show dated pieces made after the year he was there. It confirms Henry Morris in his statement that no regular make of china took place after Bevington's lease had expired.

Of course, as I have said in another part of this Work, it is possible that special pieces of porcelain for special prices may have been made at the earthenware kilns, but it is certain that they would not be from the best Swansea receipt. A mixture could be obtained from any book of "potting" receipts, and it would be one to stand a high degree of heat.

The fact is, Mr. Hinckley, the manager, was continually trying experiments; and it is possible that he may have made a few pieces of porcelain occasionally for a special purpose. There was also a good deal of the old china "in the white" left in the "gloss" warehouse. Moreover, there was a whole kiln of china biscuit left in that state for years, and the boys used to play games with the pieces, according to the evidence of William Rees. There was, therefore, plenty of material to make occasional plates, dishes, mugs, etc., when any special order was given. This may account for many so called "Swansea" dated pieces, which were said to have been made after the close of Bevington's lease. But, apart from this, there was the fact that both William Pollard and Henry Morris imported Staffordshire porcelain. Each painted on it, and each had a muffle behind his premises for firing the ware and fixing the decoration. There is abundant evidence of these facts, and nothing was more likely than that pieces of Staffordshire porcelain had been painted on with dates at Swansea; and have been innocently enough considered afterwards to be real Swansea china. I have seen a beautiful dessert service —a wedding gift—undoubtedly painted by Pollard at Swansea, so late as 1851, but it is not "Swansea" porcelain. Probably it is Copeland ware.

As regards the pieces decorated in monochrome, I have undoubted testimony to the fact that James Brindley, the engraver, who was twice at Swansea, brought a certain make of china from Staffordshire, painted or engraved it, and sold it at Swansea. The local views on it are mostly by Brindley. My informant is a respectable person—Mrs. Williams, of Clarence Street, Swansea, who says that Brindley lodged for a time at her mother's house; that he had a clever son who used to sketch as well, but who died young. Also, that there was some fuss about Brindley's china, and that all the surroundings impressed

her young mind so vividly, that she remembers very well that what she has stated to be the case is the truth.

The sum of evidence appears to be that the real Swansea porcelain was divided into three classes—Billingsley's granulated receipt, much of it stamped "Nantgarw," and probably there were variants of it, as the trial piece (P. 31) in Jermyn Street Museum indicates. Secondly, the Dillwyn receipt with "compact fracture"—some of which was marked "Swansea," and some with the addition of a Trident. Some of this ware has a greenish hue when held up to a strong light. Hence, locally, it is called the "duck's egg." Some of it has a dusky or smoky appearance, and others, again, are more translucent. The most of it was not marked at all. The third variety is the Bevington product, and has a fairly good translucency, but is mostly distinguished by the peculiar "dead" whiteness of its glaze. They may be taken in order of time, thus :—

No. 1 (Billingsley's) from 1814 to 1817.
No. 2 (Dillwyn's) from 1815 (?) to 1818.
No. 3 (Bevington's) from 1818 to 1823-4.

As regards the alleged other varieties, they may be dismissed as mostly obtained from Staffordshire. In the above remarks I am only speaking of the hand-painted Swansea china. There were at least three other varieties of so-called "Swansea china," a lustre china and two varieties of transfer ware—one in Oriental decoration, and the other so-called "Bird-nest china." Whether these were made in Staffordshire and decorated at Swansea or otherwise I have not been able to get sufficient evidence thereon to decide.

Besides porcelain there were a great variety of products tried and turned out at Swansea during the long period of its history. A rough and imperfect summary may be stated thus :—Opaque

china, in three or four varieties; Etruscan ware, in two kinds at least; Basaltes or Egyptian Black ware; Salt Glaze ware of light and artistic form; Stoneware in several forms; Wedgwood imitation in several forms; Earthenware in an endless variety; Lustre ware, both porcelain and earthenware.

On the porcelain there were few marks, but on earthenware a great number, which see under that heading. In earthenware there were:—The "Willow" pattern; the "Tower" and "Castle" pattern; the "Cuba"; the "Goojerat"; the "Bomersund"; the "Grape," and others. In the Wedgwood imitation the most interesting is a stonebody, of which a specimen is a classic vase given herein as an illustration. One of the most interesting phases of the history of the "Cambrian" Pottery is the attempt to make the imitation Etruscan ware. Mr. Lewis Llewelyn Dillwyn and his artistic wife took a leading share in this product. A good deal of red clay had been found at Penllergare Estate—the seat of the elder Dillwyn—and probably this fact suggested the new ware. As near as I can fix the time it would be about 1845. I have conversed with Mr. Henry Clowes, who remembers the first trial. It was a failure. He was then assisting his father, Mr. William Clowes, who made the models. After the failure, a consultation was held between Mr. and Mrs. Dillwyn, Mr. James Hinckley (manager), and Mr. Wm. Clowes (modeller). The body was strengthened, and other trials made till success was attained. Mrs. Dillwyn, it appears, designed the majority of the forms, or copied them from books. (Illustrations of some are given in this volume.) Mr. John Stanway Brown was the copperplate engraver at that time. Many of the models had been copied from the Vatican pieces and those in the British Museum. It is well known that there are about 40,000 of the old Etruscan vases scattered over European museums—5,000 of them being in the "British." It is extremely interesting to know

that a large number of Mrs. Dillwyn's drawings are now lodged in the Royal Institution at Swansea, and which clearly connect her with this beautiful study. The manufacture only lasted for about four years, and was given up because of the lack of a market for the product. This information was given to Mr. Henry Clowes (my informant) by the late Mr. H. Dillwyn, barrister, son of Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn. There are several specimens of Amphoræ and Tazzi in the Swansea Museum, two of the vases being evidently trial pieces of other clays than the red clay from Penllergare. One of my informants, Mr. W. Rees, said he had made several journeys to get other clays, but none were adapted so well as the Penllergare clay. (See appendix D for further reference to this kind of product.)

Bishop Lowth's dying words were "Verify your quotations." I have endeavoured to verify every fact of this little history. In the chapter on Nantgarw some mistakes of the "authorities" in regard to the Welsh potteries are noted. Such have, unfortunately, been repeated, and are still circulating. All men are liable to error. It was not surprising, therefore, that writers "covering the whole field"—so to speak—of the Ceramic Art, should not be able to "verify their quotations." For fear that the errors alluded to may not have a correction, I mention two Swansea ones.

Chaffers, in his "Marks and Monograms," says that the "opaque china" was introduced in 1810, whereas it was invented by Haynes about twenty years previously. He also repeats an error of Marryat's, that Weston Dillwyn retired from the business in 1813, leaving it to his son, Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn. Seeing that the latter was not born till 1814 this is rather a remarkable feat on his part. But we must not complain; the works of these men—these "authorities"—abound with varied knowledge and information; and if a few errors have crept in, it is only human. What saith the poet? "To err is human; to forgive, divine."

THE SWANSEA WORKS.

THE NANTGARW WORKS.

THE NANTGARW WORKS.

NANTGARW is a small village of a few hundred inhabitants at the present day, and, probably, never contained more. It is in the parish of Eglwysilan, and is about eight miles north of the town and port of Cardiff, Glamorganshire. The position of the village is picturesque, being situated in the lovely Taff Valley, the "Mynydd Maio" immediately behind it, with the Garth Mountain nearly opposite, and the Rhondda Hills to the north-west. The name is Welsh, and signifies the rough brook, from Nant (brook) and garw (rough). The population have from the beginning of the century been composed of boatmen (and their families) employed on the Glamorgan Canal, which was opened in 1797, and extends from Cardiff to Merthyr Tydfil, in its course passing through Nantgarw. A few farm labourers and colliers also inhabited the place, as well as those few persons employed at the Pottery. It is to that little factory alone that it owes its fame in a national and artistic sense. It was the exceptionally beautiful porcelain which made the name familiar to the London dealers and connoisseurs generally. It is a little amusing to observe that the unfamiliar Welsh name was spelled at first, even by such men as Dr. Lardner, in a phonetic English way, as "Nantgarrow," which is like the sound of the Welsh equivalent.

In the year 1811, William Billingsley (or Beeley), with his two daughters, Sarah and Lavinia, and his son-in-law, Samuel

Walker (the husband of Sarah), arrived at Nantgarw from the Royal China Works, Worcester. They built a small kiln or kilns at Nantgarw, and made some fine specimens of artificial or soft paste china. As the sale did not extend so much as to make the venture a success, they appealed to the Government for assistance in September, 1814. Mr. Dillwyn, of Swansea, was asked by the Board of Trade to report on the subject. He visited the place, and being struck with the beauty of the ware, persuaded the potters to go to Swansea and work with him at his factory.

In 1817 they returned to Nantgarw, but were still unsuccessful for want of funds. In 1819, Mr. Rose, of Coalport, invited them to go there, which they did. On their departure Mr. W. Weston Young, who had advanced money and assisted them most liberally, took over the Nantgarw Works, and invited Mr. Thomas Pardoe, from Bristol, to conduct it. Their efforts also failed to produce a financial success, and the factory was closed in October, 1822. About ten years afterwards Mr. W. H. Pardoe, son of Thomas Pardoe, re-opened the pottery for the production of earthenware and tobacco pipes. Since then it has existed, and is now in working order under the superintendence of one of the same family.

This, in brief, is the outline of the history of the Nantgarw Pottery and Porcelain Works, of which I now propose to give some details.

It was only in the years 1812, 1813, 1814, 1817 to 1819 that the finest "body" of the Nantgarw porcelain was produced. That kind produced in 1820, 1821, and 1822 by Young and Pardoe is difficult to identify, but it is supposed to have been of a "harder" nature than Billingsley's ware.

Sir Henry Doulton, in his lecture of the 17th February, 1888, made the following observations: "As schools of philosophy, poetry, and painting are subject to rise, culmination, decline,

and fall, so in the Art of Pottery there are many striking instances of this law." He gave some examples from the history of our own country, instancing Chelsea, Bow, Lowestoft, Liverpool, Bristol, and Swansea, as having been known for their schools of pottery, but now of the past. With Swansea, I submit, he should have classed Nantgarw, which, in porcelain, was really the parent of the Swansea school, so called. He further quoted Professor Church, who holds that from 1790 there was a gradual decline in the quality of English porcelain; and that the decadence continued till a renaissance set in during Her Majesty's reign. This advance, he says, was fostered by the International Exhibitions and the Schools of Art of the Victorian period; and they have given us a decorative pottery, elegant as well as cheap. Also, that this stimulation has given English pottery a style, which our Continental neighbours fully recognise, and do not disdain to copy. It would be a bold attempt to traverse any statement made on this subject by Professor Church, and endorsed by Sir Henry Doulton; yet I am loath to recognise the alleged decadence so far as Nantgarw is concerned. The story of Billingsley is a protest in itself; and twenty-two years after 1790, a veritable renaissance set in, under his guidance, at Nantgarw and Swansea. The attempt affected the London market so much that a great deal of the ware made from our great potter's receipts was passed off by the Metropolitan dealers as veritable "Old Sèvres" *pâte tendre* ware of the Louis Quinze period. Authorities on the subject have personally informed me that the best Nantgarw china was quite equal, if not superior, to the best "Old Sèvres," both in the body and in the decoration.* But, as Sir Henry Doulton wisely observes: "A school of decorative pottery is short-lived and, doubtless, the continuous production of Wedgwood,

* Mr. Drane confirms this as to the "body," but demurs to it so far as the glaze or decoration is concerned.

Worcester, and Minton ware is largely due to the careful attention paid to utilitarian requirements." This is exactly the experience of the Nantgarw and Swansea school. About twelve years was the short space of its existence; but there is no doubt that it re-acted for good upon such places as Coalport and Madeley, where very excellent porcelain was afterwards produced. Of this there is proof, and, doubtless, that stimulus extended, like a wave, to other centres of production.

Before giving the details of this little history, I should like to quote another eminent authority on the Ceramic Art. Dr. Birch, in his "History of Ancient Pottery and Porcelain," says very truly: "The history of the art of working in clay, from its rising amongst the oldest nations of antiquity, till the present time, resolves itself into two great divisions, which have engaged the attention of two distinct classes of enquirers; namely, the technical or scientific part, comprising all the details of material, manipulation and processes; and, secondly, the historical portion, which embraces not only the history of the art itself, and the application of ancient literature to its elucidation, but, also, an account of the light thrown by monuments in clay on the history of mankind."

This is a sound and clear definition of the mode in which to treat such a subject as I have now in hand. It is a kind of chart to steer by. In dealing with the question, let me make it clear that it is only the literary part of it which I profess to have made myself thoroughly acquainted with. So far as the *technique* is concerned, I am indebted to others whose knowledge of the subject I have faith in; checked by the minor amount of such knowledge as I have accumulated during my investigation of the subject-matter of this book.

With this frank explanation of my position, I will now try to give, as succinctly as possible, the annals of these interesting old Porcelain Works, and which annals have been literally dug out, as

it were, from the literary *débris* of three-quarters of a century. As a start it is worth while asking a question, which necessitates a reply. The query is: What has been already written about Nantgarw? The answer is: Many fugitive newspaper and magazine articles, more or less true, have been penned from time to time. The principal and most reliable notices may be found in the works of Jewitt, Chaffers, Hugh Owen, Haslam, Randall, Binns and Marryat.

In some of them there are discrepancies and inaccuracies. Let me mention one or two: Marryat says that Billingsley seems to have worked at Bristol, and that he married a Miss Landers, daughter of a banker. Without inquiring into the matter others have related this obvious error. Billingsley was married at Derby to Sarah Rigley, who died at Derby in 1825—only three years prior to his own decease. The mistake has apparently occurred owing to Mr. Thomas Pardoe—another of the Nantgarw artists—having married Miss Landeg, a "banker's daughter," at Swansea. It was Pardoe who worked at Bristol; Billingsley never did so. Another error—a newspaper one—is this: the reason for the Works being opened at Nantgarw is there said to have been because (amongst other advantages) there was plenty of china clay at Caerleon, near Newport. By correspondence and search I traced this error to its source. The writer—an anonymous one—was discovered; his alleged authority was interviewed; I found it was a misunderstanding, and that, in all probability, as Marryat had mixed Pardoe up with Billingsley, so he (the anonymous writer) had mixed up the words Caerleon, a village, with kaolin, a china clay.

It has been alleged that there was a pottery—a common earthenware pottery—at Nantgarw before Billingsley's time. I have made a careful search for proof and can find none. The only collateral evidence in favour of it is found in an advertisement

in *The Cambrian* newspaper, of Swansea, dated the 24th April, 1813. It runs thus: "Wanted partner in fine ware pottery. Address, A.B., Post Office, Cardiff." And again, on the 1st May and 8th May, 1813, "Pottery—Wanted a partner in a fine, red-ware pottery, in one of the first seaport towns in South Wales. This is a very eligible offer for any person who can command a small capital, as the goods manufactured are of the best quality and in demand. The partner may take an active part or not, as might be most agreeable. Letters, A.B., Post Office, Cardiff, will be immediately attended to."

This is not sufficient. Nantgarw was not a first-class seaport, neither could it be called even a suburb of one. An informant, and one with a clear memory, says he remembers distinctly the place, and that there was only one house—a public-house—there when Billingsley came. In 1814, when Napoleon was sent to Elba, the hill behind Nantgarw was lit up with a huge bonfire. My informant was taken there by his father to see it, and passed through Nantgarw. He was then about ten years old. The circumstance impressed his young imagination, and, on the principle of association of ideas helping the memory, no doubt he is correct. This statement was made to me by the late Mr. Isaac Price, farmer, Maenllwyd, Rudry, Glamorgan. Another interesting witness, and one whom I interviewed, was the late Mr. Richard Millward, of Groeswen, Glamorgan. Richard was an octogenarian also, and worked at the Nantgarw Pottery from 1817 to near its close. He distinctly said there was no pottery there before "Beeley's" time. Millward was born near Nantgarw, and his memory carried him beyond the time of joining the pot-works.

So much for a few of the errors that have crept into the accounts already written on the subject. They are excusable, especially when the question was so distant in date, or obscure

from the want of materials to verify facts. As Mr. Randall, of Madeley, said to me when talking over the difficulties of verifying facts regarding Nantgarw and Coalport: "It is remarkable that such matters seem to ripen and become interesting when all the people who could have given information have just died." He had experienced the same trouble himself in compiling his own publications.

Passing on to the story of the Nantgarw Works, it seems unquestionable that the first establishment of a pottery there was in 1811, when Billingsley arrived from Worcester, accompanied by his two daughters and his son-in-law. Mrs. Billingsley was then residing at Derby, and appears to have remained with her friends in her native town, on the understanding that she should do so till her husband succeeded so far, in a pecuniary sense, as to be able to send for her. Billingsley had assumed the name of "Beeley" for some years previously; by that name he entered and continued at Nantgarw. He had about £250 capital when he came there, and it was soon wasted in experiments, and the expense of living and forming the small kiln or kilns, etc.

My authority for these facts are some advertisements and a letter from Mr. Weston Young. They were published in *The Cambrian* newspaper at Swansea. The first is an advertisement which runs as follows, and was dated the 5th May, 1821:—

"To be sold by auction by Mr. John Aubrey, at his sale-room at Cowbridge, on Wednesday, the 9th day of May, 1821, and the two following days, a large assortment of Nantgarw China, beautifully enamelled, consisting of dinner and dessert plates, etc., etc., tea china and ornamental pieces of various description, amounting to several hundred lots. As the manufactory is not likely to be continued long, this will be the last opportunity of purchasing this valuable china, which is universally acknowledged to excel in beauty all hitherto made. Likewise, will be sold, a pair of beautiful furniture pictures, painted in China.

"Sale to commence each day at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and the whole will be sold without the least reserve.

"N.B.—Specimens may be seen at the auction room, May 5th, 1821."

Billingsley and Walker left Nantgarw in 1819, and went to Coalport. The fact is somewhat confirmed by Young's letter given below.* Young appears to have bought the working stock and the unfinished goods. The painted and finished ware was probably disposed of to the general public, of whom Mr. Rose, of Coalport, may have been one. Whether he bought anything at that sale or not, he, at all events, induced Billingsley and Walker to join the staff at the Coalport factory some time previously.

The next advertisement is dated 19th October, 1822, and is as follows:—

"To be sold by auction by Mr. J. Aubrey (by order of the trustees of Mr. W. Weston Young) on Monday, the 28th October, 1822, and on following days until the whole be sold, on the premises at Nantgarw.

"A large assortment of Nantgarw porcelain, richly painted and gilded, comprising dessert and tea services, ornamental china of various descriptions; also, a quantity of the same porcelain in white, consisting of dishes, plates, tureens, and a variety of other table ware; also, dessert and tea ware, and a large assortment of ornaments.

"It was intended that the sale of the above china should have taken place at Cardiff during the race week, but it having been found impossible to complete the painting and gilding of several sets by that time, it has unavoidably been postponed to the period at present advertised.

* Young, in his diary of 1821, records payments to Pardoe, but none to Beeley. Hence it seems certain that Beeley and Walker had left Nantgarw previously.

"The public are respectfully informed that the proprietors of the Nantgarw Works, having now given up the manufactory, this will be the last opportunity afforded them of purchasing this beautiful porcelain. The models, saggers, and other articles used in the trade will likewise be disposed of at the same time. Sale to commence each day at eleven o'clock, and the whole to be sold without reserve.

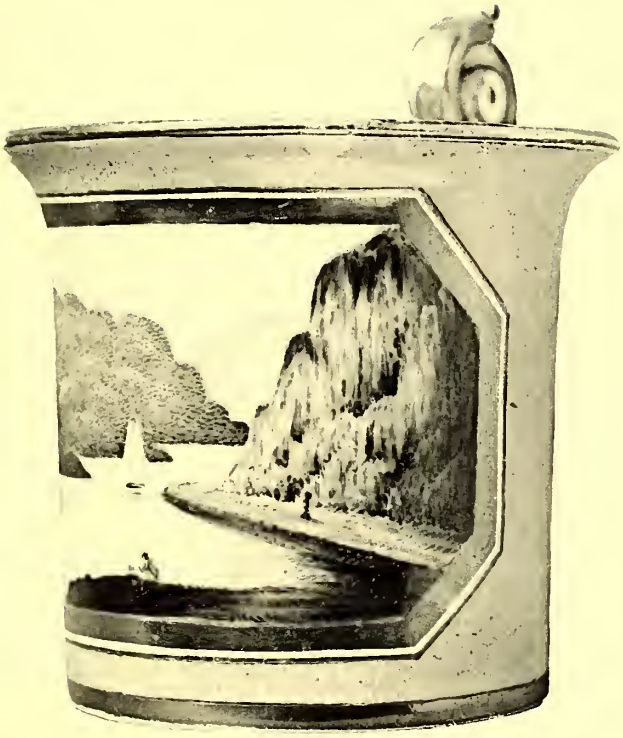
"Printed Catalogues may be had at the Cardiff Arms and of the auctioneer."

By the advertisement it will be seen that Mr. Young was in the hands of trustees. He had done all he could for Billingsley without avail. He then carried on the Works at his own risk, but failed to succeed. His movements at this time are recorded in his diary, as seen in the notice given of him in these pages. He was evidently surrounded by financial difficulties, but bore up against them with a brave and loyal heart. Shortly after this time he went to Stoke-Prior to try an entirely new enterprise—that of prospecting for the brine pits. Meantime, he made a manly appeal to the people of Glamorgan—not for personal assistance, but to save the Art, which he so much loved, from being lost to the county. That appeal—published in *The Cambrian* newspaper—is as follows:—

"The China Works at Nantgarw being now for sale, I will endeavour to state to the public, as concisely as possible, the progress of it from its commencement at Nantgarw to the present time. It is about eight years since Mr. Beeley and Mr. Walker came to Nantgarw. At that time they were possessed of £250, which they considered would have enabled them to establish the works. A short time convinced them of their error. In six months their funds were exhausted, and they were obliged to look out for a partner. I was applied to, and after examining the thing, I agreed to advance £300, which was the sum stated by

Mr. Beeley as sufficient to carry on the work, which afterwards went up to £600. But all that proved very inadequate, and the concern was again in danger of sinking when an agreement was entered into with the proprietors of the Swansea pottery, and the work was removed there. Here seemed everything that could be wished for. But, unfortunately, a new body and glaze were proposed and entered upon before sufficient experiments were made. This occasioned great loss, both of time and money. The parties disagreed and Mr. Beeley returned to Nantgarw, where he obtained supplies from myself and others to the amount of £1,100. This did not prove sufficient, and he received a further support from ten gentlemen of the county subscribing £100 each. This enabled him to go on for about eighteen months, in which he made considerable improvement, and got the china well established in the London market. But at length this was exhausted, and a further support not being attainable, he was obliged to leave the country, and the property was disposed of by auction. I purchased the unfinished goods and working stock, being the only person acquainted with the making of the articles. I have had some assistance and have expended a considerable sum of money of my own, as well as time and attention, but am not able to continue it, and without more efficient support this beautiful porcelain will be lost to Glamorganshire.

"In this work we see an instance of a few individuals, not only attempting, but performing a thing which several States and Governments have thought worthy of their particular attention, and to accomplish which they have spared no expense. At the time Beeley came to Nantgarw the Dresden and French porcelains were so far superior to the British that an *ad valorem* duty of 80 per cent. was obliged to be laid to keep it out of the market. Now, I have no hesitation in saying, and that from the opinion of the best judges, that the Nantgarw porcelain is equal, if not



CUP (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY BEDDOW.

superior, both in real excellence as well as external appearance, to any in the world; so that whatever loss individuals have sustained, the public is benefited, and the general state of the manufacture of this kingdom advanced. I am not so selfish as to hide any knowledge I possess in this Art, but, if proper encouragement is given, am ready to again come forward, as far as lies in my power.

"Wishing every success to the manufactures of Glamorganshire,

"I am, yours,

"W. W. YOUNG.

"Dated, Saturday, October 19th, 1822."

This valuable contribution to our history casts a flood of light on the subject. It appears to have been overlooked by the "authorities," for it is not even alluded to by any of them, so far as I can trace. It gives the tale in a nutshell, so to speak. The only fault is that it does not tell us enough. In conjunction with it must be read a letter from Mr. Dillwyn. It is as follows:—

"My friend, Sir Joseph Banks, informed me that two persons, named Walker and Beeley, had sent to Government, from a small manufactory at Nantgarw (ten or twelve miles north of Cardiff), a specimen of beautiful china, with a petition for their patronage, and that, as one of the Board of Trade, he requested me to examine and report upon the manufactory. Upon witnessing the firing of a kiln at Nantgarw, I found much reason for considering that the body used was too nearly allied to glass to bear the necessary heat, and observed that nine-tenths of the articles were either shivered, or, more or less, injured in shape by the firing. The parties, however, succeeded in making me believe that the defects in their porcelain arose entirely from imperfections in their small trial-kiln, and I agreed with them for a removal to the Cambrian Pottery, at which two new kilns under their

direction were prepared. While endeavouring to strengthen and improve this beautiful body, I was surprised at receiving a notice from Messrs. Flight & Barr, of Worcester, charging the parties calling themselves Walker and Beeley with having clandestinely left an engagement at their works, and forbidding me to employ them."

The above quoted letter was addressed to Sir Henry de la Beche when he was at the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London. There is no date given to it, but a similar one was sent to Dr. Lardner, and published in his Cyclopædia. The terms used are not identical, but are very much alike. It was dated 5th June, 1849. The museum was founded in 1835, and Sir Henry de la Beche died in 1855, so that the letter now quoted must have been penned between those dates. Beeley and Walker were about three years at Swansea before Flight & Barr interfered. Why did they suffer this lapse of time to go on? Probably because the ware made from Billingsley's receipt was getting popular in London and elsewhere. This view is somewhat confirmed by the allegations of Roby and Bevington against Dillwyn. The latter also says that he was strengthening "this beautiful body" when the fatal "notice" came. This fact also confirms the assumption of the Nantgarw receipt being the most successful, as stated elsewhere.

Let us now retrace our steps a little to get another view of the interesting struggle at Nantgarw. Mr. Dillwyn states that the Nantgarw potters had applied to the Government for patronage. By the kindness of the late G. J. Swanston, Esq., C.B., I am enabled to give a copy of the petition itself, together with other valuable matter. The papers are filed in the Public Record Office, London. As the documents are essential to a proper understanding of this history, I give them *in extenso.* The first is a letter from Sir John Nicholl.

"Merthyr Mawr, Glamorganshire,
"5th September, 1814.

"My Lord,

"I request you will do me the honor to lay before the Lords of the Committee for Trade the enclosed memorial, to which I beg leave particularly to request their Lordships' attention. Several of the articles manufactured have been shown to me, and although I am no judge of such matters, yet upon comparing them with other pieces of porcelain, English and French, they appear to me to be equal in whiteness and transparency to the latter, and far superior to the former. The forms and the painting are as yet in a less advanced state. The parties concerned are very anxious for an early opportunity of submitting the quality of their porcelain, in all respects, to the test of the severest examination and comparison, and it seems to me that if British porcelain can be brought to rival the French, in its intrinsic qualities, it will be an object of national importance, not undeserving the consideration of the Government.

"I have the honor to be,
"My lord,
"Your very faithful, humble servant,
"J. NICHOLL.

"To the Viscount Chetwynd,
"etc., etc., etc.,
"(Secretary to the Committee).

"P.S.—I also enclose a letter received from one of the parties concerned."

It was from Mr. W. Weston Young, and is as follows :

"Newton, 5th September, 1814.

"Sir,—Being aware of your readiness to promote any undertaking which shall be at all likely to prove of real benefit, either to the nation at large or to that part in which you have

chosen to fix your residence, I take the liberty, on behalf of myself and partners, to send you the enclosed memorial, which, if you think worthy of attention, we request you will have the goodness to lay before the Lords' Committee of the Board of Trade. As it is hardly possible to introduce in the form of a memorial every point which would be desirable to mention, I beg leave to state a few further particulars for your information.

"With respect to the first part of the memorial, the French Government, by making the manufactory at Sèvres a part of the Royal possessions, and thereby doing away with the consideration of profit and loss, has fixed the attention of the artists to the point of excellence alone, and this manufactory has given a tone to all the others throughout the nation, for although the moulds from which the manufactory of Sèvres have (*sic*) worked their forms were not to be commanded by private individuals, yet after they had been faithfully transcribed in their ware they became the property of the public, and the real intrinsic properties of the artist being worthy of the utmost exertions of art, the ornamenting has given encouragement to artists of reputation to bestow time and talent in working upon it.

"The white porcelain manufactured in this country seems to have received little or no improvement for the last twenty years, the attempts of late being rather to render it cheap (by making a spurious kind) than to improve the quality of the article in its real, essential properties. Some of the English manufactorys (*sic*) by means of good painting, ornamenting richly with gold, etc., have gained a considerable reputation, but the real, intrinsic properties of the ware remain the same, and if it was brought to market in a white state, it could hardly meet the French ware, even with the present duties, so as to bring a living profit to the manufacturers. The porcelain manufactured by us, although on the same principles with the French, is not borrowed from them,

but is the result of experiments pursued for years, made on substances which must, in every country, form the basis of true porcelain. The further improvement hinted at in the Memorial is a combination of the qualities of the best French porcelain, whiteness and semi-transparency, with the firmness and closeness of grain peculiar to the Saxon or Dresden porcelain. But I may observe that a porcelain of this kind is attended with a great expense in the process, on account of the very high heat required, which makes it a business too hazardous for private individuals to engage in, except they could afford to devote a large capital to the undertaking ; yet, I feel confident, if encouragement is given, that everything which can be done will be done by us to bring such an article to perfection ; but our means are too limited to make rapid advances, and much valuable time is lost by the attention that is obliged to be paid to money concerns. And here I will just state that the advance of five hundred pounds would relieve us from every present embarrassment, but that without some assistance we are doubtful we cannot proceed much further. After saying thus much, I feel confident of your bestowing that consideration on the case which it may appear to you to require, and shall feel much obligation, both for myself and partners, for your friendly assistance.

" Remaining your obliged Servant,

" Wm. Weston Young.

" To the Right Honble. Sir John Nicholl,
" Merthyr-Mawr."

Then follows the copy of the Memorial :—

" To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade.

" The late arrangement between this country and France in fixing a tariff on different commodities and articles of manufacture,

and the probability of a Commercial Treaty between the two countries, has induced us, the undersigned memorialists, to lay before your Lordships the following statements.

"It is now many years since France has taken the lead in the manufacture of porcelain. The Government of the country finding the benefit likely to result from it, both as to immediate profit to the manufacturer and also to the national reputation, has exerted itself to carry the art to its highest perfection, by encouraging able men (including both chemists and painters) to turn their attention to the subject. English manufacturers have also exerted themselves in the competition, and much capital has been expended on trials for the purpose of improvements; but that the success hitherto has not been equal to the exertion is sufficiently proved by the importation of white French porcelain continuing, to a very considerable and increasing amount, the selling price of which, for the last thirty years, has been near three times that of the best English white porcelain.

"This being the present state of the case, your memorialists have to state to your Lordships that they have, either separately or unitedly, been engaged for some years (near twenty on the whole, but for the last seven very closely) in trials for the improvement of British porcelain, and that they have at length succeeded (with articles entirely of British produce) in making a porcelain equal in every respect to the French, and to the intent that your Lordships may be satisfied of the truth of this assertion they will, at any time when called upon, furnish a number of pieces, both glazed and unglazed, for your Lordships' inspection, or to be compared with any ware of French or any other manufacture. One or more of the principals engaged in the manufactory will also be ready to attend your Lordships to explain anything necessary to be explained, and to give such further information as the case may require."

"Your memorialists have also to observe that the article they manufacture is not the result of fortuitous combinations, but is formed on true scientific principles, and they feel confident, if properly encouraged, that they shall be able to make still further improvements: also, with regard to the formation of their ware, they will undertake to make any article the French or any other people can, and with as much taste and precision as they do; but, the manufacture being in an infant state, they are not yet furnished with those models that an older establishment must necessarily be in possession of.

"Your Lordships must be aware that it is often the case that men of real talent, capable of benefiting their fellow-citizens and the nation at large, are so confined in their exertions for want of capital to pursue their object in an efficient way, that it sometimes happens, after a life spent in meritorious and persevering exertions, the benefit of their discoveries falls to the share of others, and, not unfrequently, the discovery itself dies with them, and is lost to the public. In these respects your memorialists have to state to your Lordships that, by great exertions of their own, and with the employment of a capital of about two thousand pounds, they have brought their manufacture into such a state as to produce about twenty-five dozens of ware (plates) per week; and they find their capital (so much having been expended in trials and erections) but barely adequate to this. Now the quantity, when compared with the quantity of white French porcelain imported, is very trifling; and, without some further assistance, they must be a long time before they can manufacture on such a scale as to do away with the necessity of importing French porcelain. Therefore, should the quality of their ware be satisfactory, they submit to your Lordships the propriety of giving them encouragement and assistance in any way your Lordships may think proper, in order to forward the supply of the market

with British porcelain. It is needless for your memorialists to state to persons of your Lordships' judgment and knowledge, what great encouragement would also be given to artists in a variety of the higher branches of painting and designing, as well as the tendency it would have to advance the national manufacturing reputation.

"Your memorialists having thus stated to your Lordships, in as concise a manner as they can, the present state of the trade in general, and of their manufactory in particular, pray your Lordships to take their case into consideration, and to assist them in any way it may appear to require.

"They beg here to state to your Lordships that, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, the Government of France sent a service of porcelain to Lord Hawkesbury in order to exhibit their superiority. They would, therefore, suggest to your Lordships the propriety of presenting a service of porcelain to some principal personage in France, in order to show the advance made in British manufacture.

"They also pray your Lordships to take into consideration the propriety of laying an additional duty on the French porcelain, to act by degrees as a prohibition, for the present duty, though high, has not that effect is evident from the great importance of French ware, than which nothing can be a clearer proof of the state of the two manufactures.

(Signed) William Beeley

Samuel Walker

William Weston Young

"Manufacturers of Porcelain, Nantgarw,
"near Cardiff, Glamorganshire."

"At the Council Chamber, Whitehall,

"12th September, 1814.

"By the Right Honble. the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, for Trade and Foreign Plantations.

"Present—Right Honble. F. Robinson.

"Read, a letter from Right Honble. John Nicholls, transmitting a memorial of Messrs. Walker & Co., together with a letter from Mr. Young recommending an increase of duties on Foreign porcelain, etc., etc.

"Ordered, that a letter be written to Sir John Nicholl acquainting him"—

(See letter following).

"Whitehall, 12th September, 1814.

"Sir,—Having laid before the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade, the Memorial of Messrs. Walker & Co., together with a letter from Mr. Young (transmitted in your letter, of the 5th), recommending an increase of duties on Foreign porcelain, etc., I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the parties, that their Lordships have not failed to give to this Memorial the attention which its importance deserves.

"With respect to the advance of a sum of money to the parties, their Lordships know of no fund from which it could be derived, and, at all events, they have no authority to direct any such issue. It is indeed contrary to the general policy of this Government to encourage any particular species of manufacture by an advance of money, as required by the memorialists.

"With regard to the importance of an additional duty on Foreign porcelain, the Lords' Committee are not at present prepared to recommend any change in the existing duties; but their Lordships will be very ready (previous to the meeting of Parliament) to communicate with any of the petitioners personally,

and to inspect any specimens they may have to exhibit of their manufacture, and due notice will be given to the public of the time when their attendance will be required.

"I am, &c.,

"(Signed) THOMAS LACK.

"To Sir John Nicholl."

From these documents it will be seen that the potters had been engaged for twenty years (of which the last seven "very closely") on trials for the improvement of British porcelain. What is their meaning? Probably this: Billingsley left his first employer—Duesbury, of Derby—in 1796, to join Mr. Coke at Pinxton, and it was there he first made the improved porcelain from the receipt which he had invented. Mrs. Billingsley (according to Haslem) used to say that her husband was never satisfied with what he did, but wanted to do something better. In "reading between the lines" of the Memorial, it is Billingsley's experience and sentiments which seem to me to inspire it, although it was probably drawn up by Young. The period—1796 to 1814—accounts for nearly all the twenty years named in the Memorial. The seven years especially noted were those years from the time he went to Worcester, namely, in 1808, to the date of the Memorial. Mr. Binns—the accurate and learned historian of the Worcester Royal Pottery—says that Billingsley was "possessed of a receipt," but was not allowed to introduce it at Worcester. This shows that he was trying to do "something better" all the time. But Walker (*vide* Binns) was allowed to introduce an important invention, namely, a Reverberating Enamel Kiln. The principle is still continued at Worcester Works. It was not the invention of Walker, for it had been used previously in London and at Derby. He, however, made a great secret of it at Worcester, by erecting it himself at night, so as to keep the design to himself. No doubt it was originally an

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY POLLARD.

adaptation of the Reverberating Furnace used in smelting iron. Smiles says it was first applied thereto by Richard Reynolds in 1766, and was invented by his foremen—two brothers of the name of Cranage—who had patented it in their name. But, singularly enough, it is mentioned by Rovensen in his "Treatise on Metallics," dated 1613. The essential principle claimed was that the flame from the fireplace or furnace to the stack was reflected or "reverberated" on to the matter, and hence the name. A furnace of this kind was also to be erected at Coalport in 1811, under the superintendence of Billingsley, but he could not agree with Mr. Rose, the proprietor of the Pottery there, and returned to Worcester. Was it then he was introduced to Mr. Rose? It shows, however, that the secret of the "Enamel Kiln" was not confined to Walker. The fact of Billingsley trying to introduce his receipt at Worcester disproves the assertion, which has been made in one quarter, that he obtained the Nantgarw receipt from the Worcester people. By Binns and Haslem it is supposed that he left upon Mr. Barr's death, which took place in 1813. But this is an error; for we find him at Nantgarw in 1811, according to the letter dated 15th January, 1813, of "Iolo," and sending on the Memorial to the Government after about two years' disheartening trials at his small kilns. Thus I account for the twenty years' and the seven years' periods mentioned. The next point is that £2,000 capital had already been invested. Young, in his letter of 19th October, 1822, puts it at £600 advanced by himself and £250 brought by Billingsley. That letter was written eight years after, and Young's memory might have been defective on this point. Besides, the difference might have been borrowed from some other source. Then we have the interesting fact that twenty-five dozen (or three hundred) pieces of ware were produced weekly. Mr. Dillwyn, in his letter to Sir Henry de la Beche, says that, owing to the defects of their

small trial-kiln, nine-tenths produced were fractured. In his letter to Dr. Lardner, he gives the "wasters" as a "great number of broken and imperfect articles." It seems plain, however, that three hundred pieces per week were then produced by the two potters and their assistants. The fourth point to be observed is their insistence that they could produce as fine a quality of ware as the French could, and that a heavier import duty should be placed on the French porcelain brought to the United Kingdom, in order to encourage the home manufacture. This is the instinctive feeling of all struggling manufacturers. The Government did not accede to their request. The doctrines of Adam Smith, preached forty years previously, were beginning just then to take root. The Board of Trade, however, offered to interview them. It is unlikely that the interview ever took place. It cannot be traced, at all events. What happened was probably this. Sir John Nicholl was created a "Lord of Trade and Plantations" on the 6th February, 1809. Sir Joseph Banks was a "Lord of Trade and Plantations," though he never sat at the Board after the 20th November, 1809. Sir Joseph was a naturalist and scientist generally, and a personal friend of Mr. Lewis Weston Dillwyn, who was also a naturalist. There is nothing more likely than that Sir John Nicholl (inspired by Young, who had been Dillwyn's china painter) would ask Sir Joseph Banks to refer the matter to Mr. Dillwyn for inquiry. Or another alternative is this. Sir Joseph was an invalid at the time, but it appears, by MSS. in the British Museum, that the chief clerk to the Board of Trade consulted him by correspondence. It is, therefore, possible that the Memorial was referred to Sir Joseph, and he then wrote to Mr. Dillwyn as being the person likely to give a proper report on the matter.

By Mr. Dillwyn's letter it will be seen that Billingsley left Swansea owing to the notice received from Worcester. Young

says it was in consequence of not agreeing with the proprietors of the Swansea Pottery that Billingsley returned to Nantgarw. We must, however, I think, accept Mr. Dillwyn's account as the correct one, because he was behind the scenes. He could speak with authority. Probably, from a feeling of delicacy, he made no sign to his employés or to the Swansea public, at the time, of what was the real reason for parting with the clever artist who had done so much to improve the porcelain of Swansea. The public interested would, therefore, naturally infer that a disagreement had taken place, and hence Young's statement. Another point of interest is the amount of money sunk in the Nantgarw concern. By putting Young's figures together we get £2,900. Tradition at the spot gives the sum at £16,000. Some authorities have put the amount at £8,000. Jewitt is one of them. The Hon. Booth Grey, of St. Nicholas, near Cardiff, a member of the Earl of Stamford's family, and related by marriage to Lord Aberdare, is said by Jewitt to have subscribed £1,000 of the £8,000 mentioned. The truth is most likely to be found in Young's statement. The Hon. Booth Grey may have been one of the county gentlemen who subscribed £100. He may also have been one of the "others" recorded by Young as having raised £1,100 on Billingsley's return from Swansea. I have tried in vain to discover the names of the ten county men who subscribed. It would be interesting to know who they were—those patrons of art in a period of gloom, a time when the nation was just recovering from the long struggle with Bonaparte, and in a time of commercial depression, when hundreds of County Banks had gone to the wall. It was a poor time for Art to cry for help. Art can only exist in the heyday of prosperity, when there is a handsome surplus over what is required for the necessaries of life. All honour, then, to those ten gentlemen who tried to do their best for the artistic work of Glamorgan in such trying times! If

anyone can give me a hint where to get information on this part of my subject I shall be grateful for it.

Another point in Young's letter is one as to his purchase of the works, in or about 1819. He says that he bought the unfinished goods and the working stock. Now, all the authorities whom I know, state that Mr. Rose, of Coalport, bought the moulds, etc., and removed them to his own factory, and took Billingsley and Walker with him. How are the two statements to be reconciled? There is no doubt that Billingsley left when Young took charge. Richard Millward recollected distinctly going to Caerphilly to meet Billingsley, when he left the neighbourhood, and was on his way from Nantgarw to Newport, thence, probably to Coalport. Millward had worked with him, and afterwards with Mr. Young. I visited Coalport, in May, 1887, and called at the works. The courteous manager —Mr. Gelson—told me that he had no books belonging to the factory so far back as 1820. They had been removed or destroyed; some of them had been sold as waste paper. He introduced me to the older workpeople. A very old woman, named Eunice Hodgkins, informed me that she remembered "Beeley," as she called him. His cottage was pointed out, but I was unable then to trace his burial place. There could be no doubt of the fact that he was there. A foreman, named Patten, said he remembered a large quantity of Nantgarw ware, which was stored in one part of the premises. It was stamped "Nantgarw." It was all sold about ten years previous to 1887. This was a proof that a quantity had been taken to Coalport, or it had been made and stamped there with the Nantgarw stamp. Mr. Randall, of Madeley, also informed me it was distinctly understood that Mr. Rose had induced Billingsley to go to Coalport, on the understanding that his favourite receipt for the "body," as used at Nantgarw, should be adopted at Coalport;

that it was tried there, but found to be too expensive. Hence, it was laid aside, much to poor Billingsley's disappointment. The inference which I draw is, that Mr. Rose may have been at Nantgarw twice. He may have gone there in 1819, and induced Billingsley to leave; and in October, 1822, he may have attended Young's sale, and bought part of the stock, etc. After Billingsley left Nantgarw, as already stated, Young bought the works. Thomas Pardoe was afterwards employed to conduct them, which he did till they were closed finally, in October, 1822.

The summary of this history is short. In 1811, Billingsley and Walker came to Nantgarw. They went to Swansea in 1814, and returned to Nantgarw in 1817. The latter fact is confirmed in this way: both of Billingsley's daughters died during that year—Sarah at Swansea, in January, and Lavinia, in September, at Nantgarw. The two events I have verified by extracts from the church registers of Swansea and Eglwysilan parishes. In 1819, Billingsley left for Coalport, and in 1822, the works at Nantgarw stopped for lack of funds. Young went to Stoke Prior to pursue his "prospecting" after salt, and Thomas Pardoe died in the following year at Nantgarw, as appears by the legend on his tomb, on the mountain side at Eglwysilan churchyard, about two miles from the old pottery works.

Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt says that the greater part of the works at Nantgarw were pulled down in 1823. He gives no proof. There is, however, a probability that he is right in that assertion, but that is all I can say by way of confirmation of it.

The artists and workpeople who were at Nantgarw Pot-works were few compared to those at some other works. There were (according to Millward) about twenty, of whom twelve or so were children, when in the height of its production. That may

be said to have been in 1818-19. The ware had then got firmly established in the London market. Mr. Mortlock, the famous dealer in porcelain goods, had become a customer. This, it is said, excited the envy of Mr. Rose, and hence his desire to shut up the Nantgarw Works "by hook or by crook."

The names of the best artists at Nantgarw were William Billingsley, Wm. Weston Young, Thomas Pardoe, John Latham, and William Pegg. They were the principal and really artistic men. There were lesser lights who painted, and hence, probably, the diversity that is seen in the style of the work on the old ware produced. I discovered, on my visit to Coalport, that a Mr. John Latham had been a painter at Nantgarw for three or four years. Mr. Randall informed me of this fact. He remembered Latham, who was a fine man physically, and a very good painter of flowers and birds. Mr. Randall had conversed, also, with Latham's widow, who always spoke with warmth and gratitude of the hospitality which was shown to her by the Welsh people when she was located at Nantgarw. Then I was informed by the late Dr. Price, of Llantrissant, that Lavinia Billingsley painted; and Richard Millward stated that he remembered Miss Hewitt, daughter of the "thrower," also being a painter on china. These persons were there in Billingsley's period of manufacture. Pardoe had his son, William Henry, with him. He was born at Swansea, and learned the business with his father at Bristol. He died at Nantgarw in 1867, and was buried at Eglwysilan churchyard.

According to Millward, a man named Singleton was the "turner," and he (Millward) drove the lathe for him. Hewitt, he said, was the "thrower"; Boden was the "squeezer"; Thomas James was the "saggerman"; and there was Walker, who was a practical potter. The latter was also engaged as a commercial traveller at times, and in that capacity visited the

metropolis. A confirmation of Millward's statements is found in the late Vicar of Eglwysilan's books. By his courtesy I was enabled to examine the registers kept, and found the following entries :—

In the Baptismal register—"31st October, 1820, Eliezer, son of James and Sarah Boden, Bwlchmân, Chynâ Manufacturer, age 18 days.

"February 2nd, 1819—Joseph, son of William and Mary Davies, china man."

In the Burial Register—"Lavinia, the daughter of William and Sarah Beeley Nantgarw, 10th September, 1817, aged 21 years. Mr. Thomas Pardoe, Nantgarw, July 24th, 1823, aged 53 years."

Millward described Billingsley as a thin man of middle height, fair, with grey hair, had no beard; was a pleasant speaking man, but very hot tempered. He kept a horse-whip to thrash the boys and girls if they neglected work. He had a mill in the cellar, below the room where he painted or studied, for grinding the fine clay. If he heard that the mill had stopped, down he went with the horse-whip. Millward remembered it well because Billingsley attempted to thrash him (Millward) on one occasion, but Singleton would not let him. Billingsley lived in the "Pottery House" with his daughter and Walker and his children. Billingsley was then about fifty-five years apparently (he was really fifty-nine in 1817). He did not understand the Welsh language, and hence could not attend church, as there was no English service in the neighbourhood. There was no difficulty, however, in his giving orders in the English tongue, as all the people understood it.

Walker was a young man about thirty years old or thereabouts; was of middle height, fair, and not so hasty in temper as his father-in-law.

Pardoe was stoutly built, of medium height, and was a good tempered man.

Young was tall, fair, and a very fine looking man: so said Richard Millward.

Thus terminated the famous little porcelain manufactory of Nantgarw. It was too artistic, and therefore could not last. There was not enough of the utilitarian element about it; and according to the Doulton theory, it was bound to wither away and die. Had it been started in France, or Germany, like the Sèvres or Dresden Works, it would have been patronized by the reigning powers. Being in Wales it had to struggle with its own incapacity to meet the commercial, but inartistic wants of the British people generally. It therefore sank, overpowered by the very weight of its own perfections.

It was a sad consummation *not* devoutly to be wished at any time, especially as it brought down and wasted largely the talents of several first-class artists in Ceramics. At this distance of time we can only deplore the result; but we must give our meed of praise to those spirited and intellectual men who made such a gallant and praiseworthy attempt to uphold the honour, the credit, and the artistic renown of Great Britain at a time when her artistic reputation was being overshadowed by her Continental rivals.

After the close of the porcelain works and the death of his father, the solitary artist left was Mr. W. H. Pardoe. He betook himself to Neath, where he laboured for a few years. He returned to Cardiff in 1826. He worked with a "muffle" at Cardiff for about seven years, and then retook the Nantgarw Pottery. He commenced making tobacco pipes and coarse earthenware. In a year or two after restarting the works, he received a handsome offer from the late Marquess of Bute, of £1,000, to make porcelain again. The offer was declined with

thanks, probably because Pardoe considered the sum inadequate to ensure success. He was aware of the difficulties of his predecessors, and therefore would be cautious. Besides, was he quite the man to make a way for the ware in the London market, as Billingsley and Young and his father had done? And, had he the proper receipts for making the same quality which had made Nantgarw famous? I am afraid not. Billingsley had taken his potting receipts with him to Coalport, for the use of Mr. Rose, who would not, under the circumstances, allow another person to have them.* So that there was good ground for refusing the offer. Mr. Pardoe continued at the humble, but more profitable occupation of making earthenware and tobacco pipes, which, by the way, acquired a reputation of their own in the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire hill districts especially. For about thirty years the little works at Nantgarw had him for master, when death overtook him at his work, and he was laid in his last resting-place near the tomb of his artistic father. The factory at Nantgarw is still carried on by the Pardoe family, and the same kind of ware is turned out as Mr. W. H. Pardoe produced. A sketch of the Pottery adorns these pages, and may give an idea of the spot—though the buildings are not exactly the same wherein the best porcelain ever produced in this kingdom was made and decorated by the master-hand of Billingsley, ably seconded by Young and the two Pardoes, John Latham, etc.

A *résumé* of the capital account invested at Nantgarw, in the porcelain period, may be apprehended from the following statement; at the same time, it cannot be assumed that it is exact. But, no doubt, it is a close approximation to the facts :—

* Young, however, seems to have got a receipt somewhat similar to Billingsley's. At least, he seemed to think so himself.

Year 1813.—Billingsley's capital ...	...	£250
,, 1814.—Young advanced ...	...	600
,, 1817.— ,, ,, ...	...	1,100
,, 1818.—Ten county gentlemen advanced		1,000
,, 1820 to 1822.—Further sums incurred by Young (estimated) ...	...	1,000
Total	...	£3,950

Vide Young's letter of 19th October, 1822, to *The Cambrian* newspaper, of Swansea.

Another estimate, in order to check the above, may be put in this way :—

Year 1814.—Per memorial to the Government —capital expended ..	...	£2,000
,, 1817.—Young advanced ...	...	1,100
,, 1818.—Ten county gentlemen advanced		1,000
,, 1820 to 1822.—Young's further capital incurred (say)	..	1,000
Total	...	£5,100

The difference between the two estimates is accounted for by the higher sum stated in the "Memorial," as against the amounts recorded by Mr. Young, whose figures I am inclined to adopt as the more accurate of the two.

It would be exceedingly interesting, and much to the credit of the county of Glamorgan, if we could trace the names of the ten county gentlemen who, according to Mr. Young's letter, advanced the extra thousand pounds to "Beeley" with little chance of being recouped for their investment. The following names have been suggested to me by Mr. George Thomas, of Ely Farm, near Cardiff. His knowledge of the county and its

Ice Pail and part Plate (half size), Artists unknown.

prominent families is almost unique:—"Booth Grey; Crawshay; Guest; Blakemore, of Pentyrch; Nicholl; Vivian; Dillwyn; Coffin; Jenner; Jones of Fonmon; Talbot; late Marquis of Bute; Bruce of Aberdare; Bishop of Llandaff; Carne (or Stradling) of St. Donats; Lords Windsor or Clive."

Another list is taken from *The Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette and Merthyr Guardian* of the 5th January, 1833. It is the account of the Grand Jury at the Cardiff Quarter Sessions, held 31st December, 1832, as follows:—"Sir John Nicholl, D.C.L. (Chairman); The Hon. W. Booth Grey; J. J. Grant, Esqr., M.P.; J. B. Bruce, Esqr.; T. W. Booker, Esqr.; W. Coffin, Esqr.; James Coles, Clerk; R. Franklin, Esqr.; J. Homfray, Esqr.; R. F. Jenner, Esqr.; R. Knight, Clerk; Col. Morgan; I. Moggridge, Esqr.; Whitlock Nicol, Esqr.; J. B. Rous, Esq.; G. W. Richards, Clerk; J. M. Treharne, Esqr." Here is a second list of seventeen from which my readers may select. It is dated ten years after the pottery was closed; but the families in the county are continuous in most cases, and the one list is just as likely a one as the other. The only approach to certainty in any of them, as subscribers, is the name of the Hon. W. Booth Grey. He is stated by some authorities to have contributed £1,000 himself. It is more likely that he *collected* the sum from the ten gentry, of whom probably he was one, who gave £100 each. It is extremely probable that Sir John Nicholl was one. He was familiar with the venture from having transmitted the "Memorial." The Marquess of Bute was also interested, evidently. He may, therefore, be counted in. Mr. Coffin's name is a familiar one in Young's diary. He may be added. We thus get four out of the ten "notables." Who were the other six?

Another point is this: In one part of this volume I

have discussed the question of Nantgarw ware having been passed off as old Sèvres china in the London market. Now, in the "Memorial" of the Nantgarw potters of 5th September, 1814, it is stated that there were then large importations of French porcelain, in the white state, into this country. This porcelain, we learn otherwise, was painted in London by Baxter and others, and re-fired. Similarly, it is recorded that much of the Nantgarw china was taken to London "in the white," and painted by James Turner, Webster, Plant, and other artists. By the kindness of Dr. Vachell, of Cardiff, I have perused a letter, dated 1892, from Mr. John G. Mortlock, of Oxford Street, London, china dealer. The writer states that his great-uncle's books were destroyed some thirty years previously, and no means are in his possession now of obtaining records regarding the old china of Nantgarw and Swansea. But he remembers his father speaking of Robins, Cartwright, Plant, and Randall, who were associated with the decoration, etc., of the ware. Also, that he himself remembers one of the Cartwrights at Oxford Street in 1850, and painting at that time. There were two persons of the name; as also two bearing the name of Robins. Mr. Jewitt states that Richard Robins, from London, was a painter at Pinxton; that Robins and Randall were employed by Mortlock to fire the Nantgarw ware after being painted in London; and that Cartwright had an enamelling kiln at London early in the century. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the fact that the Nantgarw ware was taken to London, painted, and re-fired in that city. As confirmatory, this singular circumstance happened to my friend, Mr. Drane. He was offered a cabinet service, on one occasion, for purchase. It consisted of two cups and saucers, basin, jug, and plateau. They were all painted with flowers by the *same hand.* The whole set was described as Nantgarw ware; but it was not. The cups, saucers, and basin were certainly

(he says) of the soft and beautiful Nantgarw body. The plateau and jug were hard paste. The Nantgarw pieces had no marks; the plateau bore the numerals, 705, formed in the manner which is so distinctively French. The whiteness of the paste of each was nearly equal, but the difference between the "hardness" of the one and the "softness" of the other was very noticeable indeed; as, also, was their respective effects upon the development of the colours in the kiln.

The mixing up in this way of the French and Nantgarw wares by dealers is a proof of the feeling that existed amongst those men, namely, that the one was about equal in quality to the other.

Another circumstance has a double local interest. It is this. In the Holburne Art Museum at Bath there is a plate of Nantgarw china. A horse is painted thereon, and, under the figure, the word "POULTON." On the back is the following legend:

"POULTON,
Six times winner of the OXFORD CUP.
THE OWNER,
ROBERT JONES, Esq.,
FONMON CASTLE.
Made and painted for him at NANTGARW,
GLAMORGAN."

The plate is an ordinary Nantgarw plate, not specially made. The horse is fairly (not artistically) painted by someone specially for Mr. Jones, but whether at Nantgarw admits of much doubt.

In going over the volumes of *The Cambrian* newspaper in the Royal Institution at Swansea, in the summer of 1896, I found that "Poulton" was advertised in the years 1816 and 1821 as a famous horse, and that he was stabled at Fonmon Castle. This is a collateral proof that the plate is correct, and that the years agree with the existence of the porcelain works at Nantgarw.

Regarding the time when Billingsley went to Nantgarw, we have a definite period wherein to fix it. Sarah Billingsley wrote to her mother on the 9th April, 1811, from Worcester. The little family must have been there on that date. On the 15th January, 1813, Iolo Morganwg (Edward Williams), the famous Welsh bard, wrote to the Rev. David Davies, of Neath, then in London, in these terms: "Before leaving this town (Cardiff) I will endeavour to see the porcelain manufactory of Nantgarw . . . supposed to be the finest* in Europe, and superior to the French. I have seen articles of it, white as snow, and little less transparent than fine glass. It was erected about two years ago, and it is but lately that the proprietors have had any quantities for sale." This extract is from Waring's "Life of 'Iolo,'" who was then about sixty-six years of age, and, Waring says, in full possession of his mental powers, though his physical frame was weak and suffering. The promise to send a further account was never fulfilled, so far as I can trace. It was intended for publication in "The Beauties of South Wales," published in 1815. There is a paragraph in that publication regarding Nantgarw Works, but it is very meagre, and certainly not from Iolo's inspiration. However, it is clear that between these two dates the potters arrived at Nantgarw. It is a gap of twenty-one months, which accords very closely to the bard's "about two years." He adds, however, it was only lately (? 1812) that the potters "had any quantities for sale." Now, according to Young, *vide* letter of 19th October, 1822, it was about eight years previously (? 1814) that they came with £250, which they had spent in six months. That eight years *must* be wrong, for Young himself signed the petition to the Government in September, 1814, and they had been making china for some time

* Of course, the porcelain, *not* the factory, is meant as the finest in Europe.

previously. Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, in his letter to Dr. Lardner on the 5th June, 1849 (following Dr. S. Shaw, in 1837), says it was in 1813 when the Nantgarw Works began. Lardner, Marryat, Jewitt, Chaffers, and other writers have followed in their wake. I prefer the evidence of "Iolo," who was, so to speak, on the spot, and at the time. In the petition of 14th September, 1814, to the Government, the potters state they were making twenty-five dozen pieces per week, and that their capital, which had been supplemented by Young, had been expended in *erections* and trials. Mr. Dillwyn says they had, in 1814, a small trial kiln. The probability is, as there was no pottery there before their arrival, that they erected two small kilns*—biscuit and gloss—and a muffle. In their petition they allude to the extension, under anticipated Government patronage, of painting and designing. They challenged comparison with the French ware, both in whiteness and translucency; hence, it must have been glazed. Henry Morris mentions that Isaac Woods, a modeller, came with them to Swansea from Nantgarw. So that there is the nucleus of Walker (potter), Beeley (painter), and Woods (modeller), for a good piece of work to be done in 1814. "Iolo" says, in January, 1813, it was only recently they had any quantity for sale. We

* As regards the kilns which Beeley erected at Nantgarw, the following extract is interesting. It is taken from a prize essay written by, and with permission from, Mr. Wm. Morgan, of Taff's Well, near Nantgarw, for an Eisteddfod held in Tongwynlais, in the same neighbourhood, about the year 1876. *Inter alia* it is stated that the information was obtained from one of the workmen who had been employed at the pottery under Beeley, who is called in this essay, "Mr. Bailey." The *modus operandi* is described, shortly, as follows:—"Horses' bones were collected and ground, when the powder was mixed with water and the finest-ground clay was added. The liquid was conveyed in buckets to the sleep (? slip) room, and subjected to a gentle heat. When dry, the mass was taken out and trodden on by barefooted girls. Next, it was beaten with a stick by a workman, and then transferred to the 'thrower,' who moulded it into shape, and finally was handed to the 'turner,' who gave it some finishing touches. The piece or pieces were then put into saggars and 'placed' in the biscuit furnace. After baking, they were taken out and dipped into liquid glaze. The pieces were then transferred to the 'glaze furnace' and from thence taken to the printing room, when various designs were traced on them. After that they were placed in the 'painting furnace' for the final baking or firing." It would appear from this description—and there is no reason to doubt it—that Beeley had two kilns (biscuit and gloss) and a muffle. Of course, this description applies only to the place after he had returned from Swansea in 1817. But there is a strong probability that he had erected them, as described, when he went there at first, and they were ready for him on his return.

know that Walker, at Worcester, had built an enamel reverberatory kiln, and that Beeley went to Coalport in 1811 to do the same feat. I assume, therefore, looking fairly at these facts, that the two men came from Worcester about the summer or autumn of 1811, and started to build their own kilns themselves, with what assistance they could get from the labourers of the neighbourhood. It was probably a year or so before they could get fairly to work, after wasting time with trials as well. I think it is conclusive that we must change the start at Nantgarw from 1813 to 1811.

In this connection it is of interest to inquire how Beeley got £250 to go to Nantgarw with from Worcester, where he had arrived penniless in 1808. This question is probably mixed up with the change of name. A very unnecessary amount of mystification has been cast upon poor Beeley for this alleged offence. What does it amount to? In 1805 he was at Torksey, and signed a deed there as "William Billingsley, of Brampton, in the parish of Torksey." According to Haslem, he left Torksey in 1808. If he was known at Torksey as William Billingsley, china manufacturer, for he had built a works there, it is impossible that he could change his name till he left that small town. Haslem and Jewitt are both of opinion that the word "Beeley" is simply a diminutive for Billingsley. He may have been known amongst his fellow workmen by the shortened, more convenient, and more affectionate term. Be that as it may, he went to Worcester—after being at Swansea, etc.—in 1808. There he appears to have served under the name of Beeley. On the 24th October, 1808, Sarah, his daughter, wrote to her mother from Worcester. At the close of that affectionate letter she says—"do tell me all you know about things are settled" (*sic*). The only other letter we have from her is dated 9th April, 1811, and was addressed to Mrs. Billingsley—all fear of discovery having been

overcome, as Mr. Haslem properly observes. There was, therefore, then no reason why "Beeley" should not have been dropped and the old familiar name of Billingsley re-adopted. So that only for a period of from two to three years, or less, was our distinguished potter-artist under a cloud. What was that "cloud"? Haslem says, "probably pecuniary difficulties." It looks like it. Debt seems to have dogged his footsteps. But it was for no evil purpose. His ideals were too high. As his patient wife said of him: "He was never satisfied with what he did, but wanted to do something better." How leniently his case would be looked on nowadays! But *then* the poor debtor was arrested and thrown into prison off-hand, without even being allowed to communicate with his friends or get bail. I have seen a pathetic letter from another unfortunate potter, dated so late as 1857, wherein he bewails his cruel fate at being arrested for debt and taken to prison at Cardiff, without being permitted to send a message to his family explaining the reason of his sudden disappearance. I believe it broke his heart, for he died in a year or so afterwards. Billingsley was mixed up in some property at Derby, and several deeds—in 1785, 1787, 1796, and 1805*—are extant bearing his signature. After going to Torksey he built a works there. That would strain his slender resources. Singularly enough, after he went to Pinxton in 1796, he never visited Derby again; but on two occasions passed close to it; on the first occasion, by appointment, to meet his brother-in-law, a few miles from the town; the second time, in 1808, when he went to Wales, on passing it he left a large box of china in the possession of a relative. The allegation that he had another alias has no semblance of evidence at all. The letter of 1811 shows that all danger had

* *Vide* "The Old Derby China Factory," by John Haslem, p. 51.

passed away so far as arrest was concerned; and probably the debt was paid out of the properties or "things" that were "settled," as referred to in the letter of 1808. Did the £250 which was taken to Nantgarw in 1811 come out of these "properties"? It is possible, of course, that he had again distinguished himself as a porcelain painter at Worcester and got higher pay. It is regretful that he broke his agreement with Flight & Barr; but it is obvious from the letter addressed by them to Dillwyn, that Beeley had tried to get them to adopt his receipt and failed. It was the load-star of his life, to which all other aims *must* be sacrificed. With such an object in view—a patriotic, national, self-sacrificing object in view—who will throw a stone at him? He had obtained some money; he could not get moneyed men to work with him; he must, therefore, be off to carry out his self-imposed mission. At Nantgarw he nearly succeeded, only that demon—impecuniosity—haunted him still.

This naturally leads me to another disputed point in Billingsley's career, namely, his connection with Thomas Pardoe. Haslem, quoting Marryat, says Mr. W. H. Pardoe stated that Thomas Pardoe was, at one time, Billingsley's "foreman" at Nantgarw. Hugh Owen says Pardoe is in the Bristol Directories from 1809 to 1816, and then disappears from them till 1820. The inference has been hazarded that he was at Nantgarw, assisting Beeley. My information is different. I had it from the late Mr. Charles Pardoe, son of Mr. Thomas Pardoe, that the latter lived at Hanham, about three or four miles east of Bristol, from 1817 to 1820. He then removed back to Bristol, and that explains the lapse in the directories. I have examined the directories for those years, and find that Hanham, being an outlying village, was not included in the Bristol directories of the period. We have collateral testimony from Young's diaries, some of which I have been privileged to examine. In July,

1808, I find Young remitted from Newton Nottage a cheque to "T. Pardoe," at Swansea. In June, 1814, there are drafts on Beeley and Walker. On 17th September, 1814, Young meets both Beeley and Pardoe at Margam, where he erected a monumental tomb. In that month Young is back and forward to Swansea and Nantgarw, negotiating between Dillwyn and Walker. On the 2nd May, 1817, Young paid Walker and Beeley a draft of £30, drawn on T. Pardoe. This would mean that the latter was at some place other than Nantgarw, and confirms the statement that he was then at Hanham. In 1818, Young seems to act as cashier for Beeley, for he pays him such sums as £5 and £20, and he actually pays "Betty"—the housekeeper for Beeley—small amounts for necessaries for the household at Nantgarw. These diaries are not complete. But in 1821 Beeley disappears, and then small payments are made to T. Pardoe, as if he were employed as manager or "foreman" of the works at Nantgarw. The inference is that Beeley and Walker had gone previously to Coalport, and Pardoe had come from Bristol to take their place. When Mrs. W. H. Pardoe said that her father-in-law was "foreman" to Beeley, she probably had forgotten the name, and put it in place of Young. Pardoe, in 1821, went back and forward every week-end to Bristol, till he removed his family to Nantgarw. It must have been dreary work travelling by coach and boat or sailing vessel in those days. But it shows that, during Beeley's reign at Nantgarw, it is possible Pardoe may have done some work for him, although I consider that it was unlikely to any great extent, for Mortlock was ready to take to London all that could be produced "in the white"; and, therefore, Beeley, Latham, Pegg, and others would be able to paint all that was required locally.

With regard to Mr. Pardoe's actual work at Nantgarw, we have nothing so definite as Young's diary. Unfortunately there

is a gap from 6th of January, 1818, to 1st January, 1821. In the latter year to 3rd March there are no entries of money given to Beeley; but with regard to Pardoe these significant ones occur:—"20th January, 1821, sent Mrs. Pardoe £3." Why send it if they lived at Nantgarw? It was probably for painting done at Bristol for Young. On the 12th February, 1821, this entry occurs: "At Swansea—Pardoe there." Then, on the 20th February, 1821, "At Nantgarw—Pardoe came." On the 3rd March, 1821, "paid Thomas Pardoe £2." It looks as if, up to 20th February, 1821, Young had managed Nantgarw Works himself, the best way he could, by visiting it and having inferior men there as potters, throwers, etc.; but on that date he got Thomas Pardoe to superintend the works at £2 a week. There is a lapse in the diary till October, 1822, when we find "T. Pardoe" paid £2 1s. on the 22nd, and £2 on the 30th. On the 2nd November (*i.e.*, after the sale) Pardoe is paid £5, and then the record is closed.

SUCRIER (FULL SIZE), ARTIST UNKNOWN.

THE PROPRIETORS, ARTISTS, POTTERS, AND OTHERS

WHO WERE INTERESTED IN OR CONNECTED WITH THE OLD POT-WORKS OF SWANSEA AND NANTGARW.

JOHN CRICHTON STUART,

THE SECOND MARQUIS OF BUTE.

THE association of the late Marquis of Bute with the Nantgarw Porcelain Works may be summarized in this way :—His lordship seems to have taken a great interest in the enterprise. One of my informants remembered going to Cardiff Castle from Nantgarw for a pattern plate. Another recalled the fact that, as a young boatman on the Glamorgan Canal, he assisted in conveying quantities of the chinaware to Cardiff Castle. A third, Mr. W. W. Young, who was proprietor at the pottery in 1822, notes in his diary on the 18th and 19th October of that year, that the Marquis and he were at Dinas, Neath. Sir William Thomas Lewis, Bart., General Manager for the present Marquis, writes, under date 11th October, 1887, to me, thus :—"I may observe, with reference to the entry in Mr. Young's diary of the 18th October, 1822, that Mr. Young and his partner—Mr. Allen*—were tenants of the late Marquis for some silica sand

* This Mr. Allen was the partner of Wm. Weston Young's nephew, who succeeded his uncle in possession of the said lease. The property is still owned by Col. Young, who is grand-nephew of the painter.

at the Dinas Rock, Glynneath, for the purpose of brickmaking." Young had leased it for twenty-one years in the year 1821. On the 2nd February, 1822, he entered into an agreement with Mr. D. Morgan, of Neath, as to a secret process—which Young had invented—of making fire-bricks from the said sand; but he (Young) was to be at liberty to use the materials for "his china manufactory at Nantgarw." Fourthly, Mrs. Pardoe, widow of the late Mr. W. H. Pardoe, informed me that the late Marquis had offered her husband £1,000 to restart the porcelain works at Nantgarw. That was about the year 1834. These facts clearly prove the large amount of interest which his lordship took in the Nantgarw production of high-class china. A short sketch of his career is, therefore, quite germane to this inquiry.

His lordship appears to have succeeded directly to his title and estates on the death of his grandfather in 1814, his father being pre-deceased. Singularly enough, that was the year when Billingsley and Walker removed from Nantgarw to Swansea. It is said that, as soon as he succeeded to the estates, he began at once to study the best mode of developing them, and adding to the comfort of his tenantry. John Crichton Stuart, late Marquis of Bute, was born in London on the 10th August, 1793. In 1810, he went to Cambridge University, and in 1812 took the honorary degree of M.A. After that, the "grand tour" of Europe was made, as was customary at that time with young men of rank. During the course of it he made the acquaintance of Madame de Stael, the only woman who, it was said, the great Napoleon ever feared. Singularly enough, Lord Bute also met Napoleon himself, when a prisoner at Elba, in 1814. It is instructive to observe how events, important and otherwise, are connected in the intricate web—the warp and the woof—of human society. As a reminiscence of Nantgarw, the late Mr. Isaac Price, of Rudry, informed me, a few years ago, that

he remembered passing through the village, in company with his father, in the eventful year of 1814. Mr. Price was but a boy at that time, but his youthful mind was impressed with the sight of the bonfire on the neighbouring hill to commemorate the captivity of the mighty Corsican. At about the same time, there was Lord Bute, who was in a few years to be associated in business with the Nantgarw potters, interviewing the captive Emperor himself. Through the marriage of his father's step-brother—Lord Dudley Stuart, to Christina, daughter of Prince Lucien Bonaparte—Lord Bute was related to the Napoleon family. Lord Bute's father—Viscount Mountstuart, eldest son of the first Marquis—was killed by a fall from his horse in 1794, and his mother—Elizabeth, daughter of Patrick Crichton, Earl of Dumfries—died in 1797, leaving him and his brother (Patrick James Herbert) orphans at a very tender age. At Geneva, in November, 1814, the first Marquis died; and thus, just as he attained his majority, the young lord became the second Marquis, and possessor of immense estates. Throwing aside all the frivolities which surround the *jeunesse dorèe* of our aristocracy, especially when great wealth is added to high lineage, the young nobleman set himself the task of improving those estates, and raising the standard of comfort for all of his dependants. It was a noble object, and forms an ensample for others to go and do likewise. As with Nelson, and his personal friend Wellington, Lord Bute had one simple motto for his life, and that was the word "duty." He had all the qualities which go to make a great statesman, and signalized those powers in the House of Lords. Though a Conservative in politics, he spoke and voted in favour of free-trade measures and the repeal of the corn laws; also, for a more liberal treatment of Ireland. Those facts prove his political prescience, which can in the light of experience be all the more appreciated, and assessed at

a higher value than in that distant period. They also prove his fitness for Imperial purposes, and almost make us regret that he did not seek office in the Cabinet, when perhaps the wheels of national progress might have been turned round more quickly. He chose, however, a humbler, but still an eminently useful career—that of attending to the wants of his tenants and developing his patrimony. With what results the whole nation knows. Those results testify loudly to his wonderful foresight, which is one of the main constituents of genius. One of the most extraordinary of his labours was the absolute creation of the Port of Cardiff, which he aimed at making a "second Liverpool." It is now almost equal to Liverpool for the extent of its tonnage, and had he lived, in all probability, would now have been nearly equal to the great port of the Mersey, in point of the value of its imports and exports as well. One writer says of him: "The people of Cardiff had reason to rejoice that he gave up for them what was meant for mankind" at large, by applying to the management of his Glamorganshire estates an administrative ability which would have insured him, if he chose, a most distinguished parliamentary career. As it was he accomplished marvellous things. Thirty-four years of toil brought him to the close of life at a comparatively early age, that of 55 years. He expired suddenly at Cardiff Castle, on the 18th March, 1848, and was buried at Kirtling, Cambridgeshire, on the 2nd April following. It was sad! Just when he saw the budding fruit of his hopes and labours; after encountering risks that would have appalled a weaker man—for he staked his whole wealth on the cast of the die in building the Cardiff Docks—to be thus hastily removed.

The *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* of the period stated that a dinner party was given at the Castle on the 18th March, 1848. Among the guests were the Mayor (Mr. James Lewis),

the ex-Mayor (Dr. Reece), Capt. Armstrong, Lieut. Dornford, and Mr. J. S. Corbett. Dr. Reece, at the inquest, stated that his lordship seemed in good health and spirits, and talked of a new dock to be made on the site of the reservoir. He complimented the doctor on his health and strength; and hoped, if "permitted to live," he would be as good a man at the age of seventy-six. He then left the dining-room, and was never seen alive again by him (Dr. Reece). This was about nine o'clock. His lordship had gone to lay down in his dressing-room, and, in about an hour afterwards, he was found there by his valet—dead. He had quietly expired when alone. The verdict was as follows:—

"That the said John Crichton Stuart, Marquis of Bute and Earl of Dumfries, on the 18th March, 1848, in a certain bedroom in Cardiff Castle, was found dead; and that he died by the visitation of God, in a natural way."

The medical evidence went to show that the functions of the heart and brain were impeded—having been previously diseased.

His young son and successor was only six months old at the time of the melancholy event.

The funeral procession, according to the same newspaper, was extraordinary. Crowds of people flocked from the adjacent country districts to testify their respect for the deceased nobleman. Mr. Bunting, of London, the Royal undertaker, said he never saw such an assemblage of respectable persons—the nearest to it, in his experience, being the funeral of the Royal Duke of Sussex. This was a powerful testimony to the esteem in which the late noble Marquis had been held. The body was conveyed to the docks, thence by steamer to Bristol, thence by railway to London, and on to Chesterford; thence by procession to Kirtling—the last resting-place of the creator of modern Cardiff and the benefactor of the Nantgarw potters.

THE HON. WM. BOOTH GREY.

The Hon. Wm. Booth Grey is mentioned by Jewitt as having been reported a subscriber to the Nantgarw speculation to the extent of £1,000. I have explained that this is evidently an error, as see the chapter on "Nantgarw." He may have been one of the ten gentlemen who subscribed £100 each towards that object. It is also probable that he was the collector of the whole sum, and hence, in all likelihood, the origin of the mistake. Be that as it may, he was, evidently, a public-spirited man; and during his residence at Duffryn House, which is six or seven miles west of Cardiff, he appears to have taken much interest in county matters. He stood for the county as a candidate in the Conservative interest in 1820. The late Mrs. Rees, of Park Place, Cardiff, who died at an advanced age, told me that she remembered seeing him at the door of the Boar's Head Inn, Caerphilly. He was then contesting the election. She was but a little girl at the time; but had a vivid recollection of his courtly manners. He conversed and chatted with those present in an easy, happy style; and stooped down from his horse to pat her on the head, at the same time making some complimentary remark. His election address—which I am enabled to copy by the courtesy of Mr. Ballinger, Chief Librarian at Cardiff, from his scrap book of such curiosities — is as follows:—

"Notice.

"In consequence of the death of the King, the freeholders of Glamorganshire are most respectfully informed that it is Mr. Grey's determination to solicit the honor of representing the County at the ensuing General Election.

"Duffryn, February 1st, 1820."

On the 6th February he issued another "Notice," stating that most gratifying promises of support had been given to him. Notwithstanding that, he retired from the contest, as evidenced by an address issued at Bridgend on the 18th March following.

An election squib, published by "Lloyd, Printer, Cardiff," written by one of his supporters, satirises his opponents, and then goes on to recite :—

"But Grey's our man. . . . .
See what avails to have a Cambrian wife,
And honest, independent, acts through life ;
I wish he had a little Cambrian boy,
I am sure it would give him great joy.
If Grey triumphant through Glamorgan move,
And Duffryn coppice rule o'er Margam grove ;
Fine time for Farmers, very high price for corn :
God bless the hour when Mr. Booth Grey was born."

The quality of the versification is questionable ; but there is no mistaking the political sentiments of the writer.

I also find Mr. Grey's name on the list of grand jurymen at the Quarter Sessions held at Cardiff, 31st December, 1832.

Lord Aberdare writes to me under date 27th February, 1887 :—"Mr. Booth Grey was married to a second cousin of my father, who succeeded to his estate of Duffryn, St. Nicholas."

In the "Peerage" of England he is described as the second son of the fifth Earl of Stamford (of Chester and Stafford), and was born on the 10th September, 1773 ; that, in 1802, he married Frances Ann, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Price, Esq., of Duffryn, Glamorgan. She died in 1837. He was married, in 1838, secondly, to the Hon. Frances Somerville, sister of Lord Somerville. He died on the 11th March, 1852, without issue.

In the "Swansea Guide," 1823, page 124, it is stated that six miles from Cardiff, on the Cardiff and Swansea road, is situated the village of St. Nicholas, near which is Duffryn House, the seat of the Hon. Wm. Booth Grey. It is evident that his residence in the neighbourhood fully covered all the period of the potters at Nantgarw.

SIR JOHN NICHOLL.

Sir John assisted the potters at Nantgarw very materially, for it was by his medium that their memorial of 1814 was conveyed to the Government of the day. Thereby they formed the acquaintance of Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, who removed them to Swansea, where their productions were developed more largely and their reputation became more extended. I have no doubt that Sir John was one of the ten county magnates who subscribed £100 each, when the potters returned to Nantgarw, to carry on the works. His reputation as a philanthropist and public-spirited man fully warrants the assumption.

In the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* of 1st September, 1838, there is a column devoted to an obituary notice of Sir John Nicholl. In the *Annual Register* of 1838, No. 223, there is also a similar contribution. From these two sources is extracted the following short summary regarding him. It appears that he was the second son of John Nicholl, Esq., of Llanmaes, Glamorganshire, who married Elizabeth, daughter of James Havard, Esq., of Herefordshire. The subject of this notice was a native of Glamorgan, and was born on the 16th March, 1759. He was sent to school at Cowbridge first, and then to Bristol ; subsequently, to Oxford, at the age of sixteen years—that is, in 1775. He died at his seat of Merthyr Mawr, near Bridgend, Glamorgan, on Sunday, the 26th August, 1838, in his eightieth year—full of age and honours, regretted by everyone who knew anything of him, and that was an exceedingly wide circle. The *Guardian* appropriately says of him that he reflected great honour on his native county by the force of his talents and his unblemished integrity, displayed both in his professional functions and in his private life.

It appears that he was originally intended for holy orders, but chose the law as a profession. In 1785 he was admitted an advocate at the bar of Doctors Commons, and rapidly rose in public estimation and practice owing to his powerful character, great ability, and profound learning. Honours were showered thick upon him. He entered Parliament in 1802 as member for Penryn, Cornwall; and subsequently sat for Hastings, Rye, and Great Bedwin, up to 1831. In 1809 he was appointed Dean of Arches; and also a Lord of Trade and Plantations. He was, therefore, a member of the Board of Trade (modernly so-called) when the potters of Nantgarw forwarded their petition through him. He was made Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1834. In 1835 he resigned his position as Dean of Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court; but retained the judgeship of the Admiralty Court till his lamented death. Amongst other of his good works, he was prominent in fostering the cause of National Education; and he was the founder of the Savings Bank at Bridgend. He was an ardent upholder of the Established Church of England, and his piety was said to be so "subdued" in him that it permeated all his conduct, both public and private.

In 1787 he married Judy, daughter of Peter Birt, Esq., of Wenvoe. His son, Sir John Nicholl, became member of Parliament for Cardiff; and his grandson, John Cole Nicholl, Esq. (who married Mary de la Beche, daughter of the late L. Ll. Dillwyn, Esq., M.P. for Swansea), is now in the possession of the family estate of Merthyr Mawr.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

His connection with Swansea and Nantgarw Pot-works is seen in the reference made by him to Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, when the

potters petitioned the Government for aid, in the year 1814. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Dillwyn through their mutual devotion to the science of botany. He appears to have visited Mr. Dillwyn at Swansea, for the latter, writing in 1809, says that "some time ago" Sir Joseph, in walking from Swansea to Britonferry over the Crumlyn Burrows, made a discovery (query, botanical). Mr. Dillwyn's work on "The Fauna of Glamorgan" was dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, showing the esteem in which he was held by the author.

Sir Joseph was born in London, February, 1743, and expired on the 19th June, 1820. He married Dorothea, daughter of William Weston Hugessen, of Provender, Newton, Kent. Can it be that, through the name of "Weston," he was related to both Lewis Weston Dillwyn and William Weston Young? He was very rich; was a great patron of science, and bequeathed his extensive botanical library and collection to the British Museum. His love for botany commenced at school. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1766, and became its President in 1777. His travels were extensive, and, in 1768, he was one of the expedition sent out to Otaheite to observe the transit of Venus. With Dr. Solander—his intimate friend—he was appointed naturalist to the expedition. In one of his productions he treats of the beavers in Wales, and calls them "fish-tailed animals." In 1781 he was created a baronet; in 1795 he was invested with the Order of the Bath; in 1797 he was sworn in as one of His Majesty's Privy Council; and, in 1802, was elected member of the National Institute of France. Sir Joseph was also a Member of the Board of Trade, and appears to have attended regularly to its duties from 1799 to 1809. He did not attend personally after the 20th November in the latter year, but, in his letters bequeathed to the British Museum, there are some from Mr. George Chalmers, the then

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY POLLARD.

chief clerk at the Board ; and it was probably in that way that the potters' memorial found its way through him to Mr. Dillwyn. Owing to severe gout, he lost the use of his lower extremities towards the close of life ; and, therefore, he may have been unable to attend to his multifarious engagements outside of his house, except through correspondence, for a period of years. A singular incident, mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1820, remotely connects his name again with Mr. William Weston Young, the painter on Swansea's famous opaque china, and partner in the Nantgarw speculation. A Mr. Wrwnsky had established a new lunar theory, and claimed £20,000 reward. Sir Joseph referred him to Dr. Thomas Young, by whom, he said, everything was done at the Board of Longitude. Dr. Young was cousin of the late William Weston Young.

THE DILLWYNS.

No account of the Swansea Pot-works would be complete without the annals of Lewis Weston Dillwyn and his second son, Lewis Llewelyn Dillwyn. The lives of these two distinguished men are nearly co-terminous with the best period of the production of pottery and porcelain at Swansea.

Lewis Weston Dillwyn.

He was born at Ipswich in 1778, and died at Sketty Hall, near Swansea, in 1855. The surname is said, by Mr. Gamwell in his "Guide to Swansea," "apparently" to be derived from the village of Dilwyn, in Herefordshire. In the Harleian Collection, No. 6,831, the Dillwyn family is traced to Sir John Dilwyn, of Dilwyn, Hereford. But the Herald's Office records give the

ancient name as "De Luen," who, with Bernard Newmarch (Normans), invaded Breconshire in A.D. 1100. In a charter, granted by Henry VI. and dated 1448, to the town of Brecon, a list of seventy-three burgesses is given. Amongst the names recorded is that of Hugh Dilwyn, "one of the English people." This name, if not the particular family one of the late Mr. Dillwyn, appears to be a very ancient one in the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Hereford. In Burke's "Landed Gentry" we find it stated that William Dillwyn, of Higham Lodge, Walthamstow, in 1777, married Sarah, daughter and heiress of Lewis Weston, of High Hall, Essex (whose cousin, Thomas Weston, of Clay Hall, Middlesex, made an unsuccessful claim to the "earldom" of Portland), died in 1824, leaving Lewis Weston Dillwyn, of Burrough's Lodge and Sketty. So much for Burke.

In the "History of Glamorganshire" (1874), by Thomas Nicholas, M.A., it is stated that the Dillwyns were descended from Sir John Dilwyn, of Dilwyn, Herefordshire, afterwards of Langorse, Breconshire, and that a descendant, William Dilwyn, emigrated to Philadelphia in 1699. Also that his grandson, William Dillwyn, returned to England and settled at Higham Lodge, near Walthamstow.

The earldom and dukedom of Portland are separate. The former being older. The earliest record of the family is said to be of Henry Weston, of Weston, *temp.* Henry II. His descendant (Richard) was made Baron Weston of Neyland in 1629, and was created Earl of Portland in the year 1633. Under James II., three of the house died in battle, and the next-of-kin went to America and disappeared. The estates were all squandered away. Thomas, descendant of a younger branch of the family, brought an action to recover the title, but failed in his suit. That was about the middle of last century. From

these Westons the Dillwyns of Swansea are descended on the maternal side of the house. Doubtless Sir Jno. T. Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart., of Penllergare, is the legal heir, if the disappeared next-of-kin who went to America could be proved to have no legitimate issue, all other claims having lapsed.

In regard to the paternal branch pedigree, it is questionable whether Mr. Gamwell or Mr. Nicholas is strictly correct. I am favoured with a note upon the subject from Miss Dillwyn, of Swansea (enclosing a memorandum from Lady Dillwyn Llewelyn), which proceeds as follows:—"In the book of memoranda put together by L. W. Dillwyn, Sir John Dilwyn is *not* stated to be of Hereford, nor is it said that any ancestor invaded Breconshire with Bernard Newmarch in 1100.

"The celebrated bard and historian, Jevan Deulwin, is mentioned, and that he was one of the Welsh Heralds appointed by Edward IV., Aug. 12, 1462. But Mr. L. W. Dillwyn did not claim direct descent from him, though he considered himself to be one of the same family.

"William Dillwyn must have gone to America before 1699, as it is stated that his son John was born at Philadelphia, 1693. The latter's (John's) son, William, was also born in Philadelphia in 1743, and married Sarah Weston in 1777."

The bard, "Jevan Deulwin," here mentioned, is probably the same man as Ieuan Deulwyn, who flourished 1460—1490, and who presided at the Glamorgan Gorsedd in 1480 (*vide* Williams' "Eminent Welshmen," Llandovery, 1852). The period stated is only the time when he was known to fame.

About the year 1801, Mr. William Dillwyn visited Swansea and bought the "Cambrian" Pottery from Mr. George Haynes. In 1802 he placed his son—the subject of notice—over it. The latter engaged Mr. George Haynes as manager, and Mr. William Weston Young as painter and decorator of the

famous "opaque china" then produced. In 1807 Mr. L. W. Dillwyn was married to Mary, daughter of John Llewelyn, of Penllergare, near Swansea. So early as 1804, Mr. Dillwyn, when only twenty-six years of age, was elected F.R.S. He had many accomplishments, but, above all, was a scientist. He has been termed "The Father of British Botanists and Naturalists." In 1802 he published "The British Confervæ"; and in 1805, in conjunction with Dawson Turner, of Yarmouth, the "Botanist's Guide." Amongst other literary productions he wrote what is practically the only history of Swansea, although he modestly entitled it "Contributions towards a History of Swansea." It appeared in book form in 1840. He was the intimate friend of such men as Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Humphrey Davy, Wollaston, and Robert Browne. He was, respectively, Mayor, High Sheriff, Alderman, and Member of Parliament for Swansea. He is said to have been fearless, manly, and outspoken. His politics were described as "liberal-whig," but he was practically independent in the expression of his views, and a profound hater of cant in all its phases, which is a genuine characteristic of the true or "expert" scientist.

W. W. Young was the artist who illustrated his botanical books, as well as decorated the ware from the pottery. George Haynes left the "Cambrian" Works in 1810, and the two Bevingtons were employed instead. In 1814 Mr. Dillwyn received the letter, already described and copied herein, about the Nantgarw potters. He immediately entered with zeal into the enterprise, and had kilns specially prepared for them at Swansea. He also, in conjunction with his friends, had the Nantgarw receipt modified to avoid so much breakage in firing; and, no doubt, would have succeeded in perfecting the receipt and the porcelain had he not received the unfortunate notice from Worcester, in 1817, about the runaway potters. So

disgusted was he with the results, that he transferred his interest in the "Cambrian" Pottery to Roby, Bevington & Co., and retired from the active management of it to Penllergare, to pursue more closely his botanical studies. He was not, however, to be left without a reminder of his former connection with the pot-works, for the new firm of Roby, Haynes & Bevington brought an action against him in the year 1821. A full account of this matter is given in the "Swansea" section in this book. It will suffice here to state that he practically won the case.

He seems to have taken a warm interest in the production of porcelain at Swansea—not only for the sake of an artistic article, but for the sake of the borough, and the large number of people then employed.

He was, evidently, a public-spirited, talented man, of whom, as a citizen, any community might feel proud; and be pleased and grateful for the exertions which he put forth for the public benefit.

LEWIS LLEWELYN DILLWYN.

Mr. Dillwyn was born at the Willows, Swansea, on the 19th May, 1814, and died suddenly, at the Royal Hotel, Swansea, on the 19th June, 1892. He married, in 1838, Bessy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry de la Beche, the eminent geologist, who was founder of the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London. Mr. Dillwyn was educated at Bath, and was entered as a student at Oriel College, Oxford, but did not take up residence. At an early age he was started in commercial life by his father giving him charge of the "Cambrian" Pottery, Swansea. He superintended it with zeal and distinction, and introduced several improvements, one of which was the much-admired imitation of Etruscan ware.

The subject of this memoir probably got charge of the pottery when only a boy; that is, some time in the early "thirties." His father's law-suit with Roby and Bevington ended in 1821, and their lease fell in three years afterwards. Young Dillwyn was then only ten years old. The elder Dillwyn probably carried on the works by a manager. About 1838, the "Glamorgan" Pottery was also acquired, but was said never to have been worked by Dillwyn. In 1836, at the early age of twenty-two, he was made a magistrate. In 1840 he endeavoured to get the Messrs. Brameld, of the Rockingham Potteries, near Rotherham, to take over the Glamorgan Pottery and make it into a porcelain factory, but the negotiations fell through.*

About the year 1845 he brought out his "Etruscan ware," some fine specimens of which are in the Jermyn Street Museum, presented by himself. In 1850 he sold his share in the "Cambrian" to the late Mr. David Evans, who had been his manager therein. He then commenced a silver works at Landore, near Swansea. It was closed in a few years. Subsequently, he and the late Mr. Evan Matthew Richards carried on a spelter factory; and, with Mr. Siemens, established the famous steel-works at Landore. He was a colliery proprietor as well, and, altogether, was a great benefactor to the neighbourhood of Swansea in promoting industries which, however, do not appear to have yielded himself much personal profit. In the modern "Domesday Book" he is recorded as being seized of 524 acres of land, yielding a rental of £3,943 per annum. He was one of the promotors of the South Wales Railway, now part of the "Great Western" system, of which latter he was director for twenty-five years. In 1842 he took an active and fearless part in suppressing the "Rebecca" rioters. In 1859 he raised

* See his letter to them under the "Swansea" section, p. 47.

a Volunteer company, the 3rd Glamorgan, of which he became captain, and subsequently reached the rank of colonel in the Volunteer force of the county. He was at one time Mayor of Swansea, and was a Harbour Trustee at that port. In 1855 he was elected Member of Parliament for Swansea as a Radical in politics. Though an Episcopalian, he was in favour of the Disestablishment of the State Church. He took a prominent part in abolishing Church rates, and the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. His attention to Parliamentary duties was remarkably close, and in the House of Commons he was much esteemed by the members of all parties, for his unfailing courtesy and kindliness won him many friends. His death at Swansea was said to have been precipitated by over-zeal in promoting the return of a colleague. It created quite a sensation in the town, and universal mourning ensued for one so much beloved; whose life had been spent in the faithful discharge of duty; the conscientious display of consistent principle; and the unselfish pursuit of endeavour to benefit his fellow-citizens of all classes and nationalities.

A sad reminiscence of him and the interest he took in the Ceramics of Swansea is apparent in the terms of the following letter, addressed to my correspondent at Swansea, who had applied to him for some particulars regarding the old porcelain works of his father :—

"Hendrefoilan, Swansea,
"January 9th, 1887.

"Dear Sir,

"I have searched for my father's notes, respecting the painters of the Swansea china, but have not as yet (having been much engaged since my return) been enabled to find them. I do not think they will throw much or any light upon the

origin of the Nantgarw Pottery. I believe that works was started in about 1812 or 1813, by two persons of the name of Walker and Beeley, who had left the service of Messrs. Flight and Barr.

"I believe also that Mr. Young was the artist by whom the best of the Swansea china was painted. I have to be in London again to-morrow, but when I have a little more time I will again look for my father's memoranda.

"I am, yours truly,

"L. L. DILLWYN.

"D. Williams, Esq."

This is a characteristic letter from a busy man, immersed in legislative and other duties, who was ready to take up any subject to oblige his correspondents; and it evinces, at the same time, the accuracy and tenacity of his memory, together with a loving regard for an artistic subject, with which, in early days, he had been associated.

A sale of his effects took place at Hendrefoilan, his seat, in February, 1893. The preliminary announcement was couched in the following terms:—

"Contents of the Mansion: Comprising superb antique and other furniture, rare specimens of Swansea, Nantgarw and other china and ware, beautifully chased silver and exquisitely designed electro-plated goods, excellent cut and other glass, valuable oil paintings and other pictures, curios, wines, liquors, books, sporting and other requisites, &c."

The sale lasted for several days, and thus the "household gods" of the deceased connoisseur were scattered far and near. It was understood, however, that some of the more valuable, porcelain especially, was selected beforehand by relatives. There was a large quantity of "Swansea" of the later production, but

only two specimens, at the sale, of the real *pâte tendre* of the Billingsley period. One was a Nantgarw dish and the other a Swansea plate, which was very "translucent," but neither were well painted.

Mrs. L. Ll. Dillwyn.

Mrs. Dillwyn did some effective service at the "Cambrian" during the "Etruscan" period; and therefore deserves a niche in our gallery of Ceramic worthies. Her maiden name was Bessie de la Beche—daughter of Sir Henry de la Beche, the famous geologist. She was born at Geneva, 2nd December, 1820, and died at Hendrefoilan, near Swansea, 3rd April, 1866. She travelled a good deal with her father when young, and appears to have developed considerable artistic talent. When her father came to reside at the Mumbles as Geological Commissioner, she met Mr. Dillwyn. Being both artistic in their tastes they sympathised, and ultimately were married in the year 1838.

There are a number of her sketches, etc., at the Royal Institution at Swansea. Some of them clearly indicate her share in the "Etruscan" designs, having directions thereon to the potters how to proceed. They do her great credit for accuracy of detail. So often did she visit the pottery at this period, that a room she used was always called "Mrs. Dillwyn's room" by the employés.

WILLIAM BILLINGSLEY.

The life-history of this potter-artist is an intensely interesting one. Fortunately, he found a most appreciative biographer in Mr. John Haslem, who gives the details in his authentic work—"The Old Derby China Factory." To him,

and to Mr. Ll. Jewitt's book on "The Ceramic Art of Great Britain," I am indebted for the bulk of the following account of the annals of William Billingsley, sometime known as William Beeley; which is said to be but a contraction of his full surname. Jewitt says that he was one of the most remarkable of the line of British potters, and as a flower painter on china was unequalled by his contemporaries; or, even before or since his time. Haslem says his life was a sad one; and no doubt, he was right in saying so. Billingsley might well be termed the British Palissy. He had all the great Frenchman's hardships, but without his ultimate financial success. He was not a scientist, yet Dr. S. Shaw says in his book—"The Chemistry used in Porcelain, Glass, and Pottery,"—that Billingsley made a porcelain which, as an artificial felspar, approaches nearest real felspar. He assisted in promoting and developing several porcelain manufactories; and, amongst others, that of Nantgarw.

Wm. Billingsley was born at St. Alkmund's, Derby, in 1758. He toiled on at many places, and ended his career at Kemberton, near Coalport, Shropshire, where he was buried, on the 19th January, 1828, as "Wm. Beeley." It was on the 12th October, 1758, that he was baptized. His parents were William and Mary Billingsley. The former died in 1770. On the 26th September, 1774, Billingsley was apprenticed to William Duesbury, at Derby, to learn the art of painting on china and porcelain. He married Sarah Rigley on the 4th November, 1780, and had three children born to him—Sarah, James, and Lavinia. James died in infancy. Sarah was married to Samuel Walker. She died at Swansea on the 1st January, 1817. Lavinia died at Nantgarw, and was buried at Eglwysilan Churchyard, on the 11th September, 1817. Mrs. Billingsley died at Derby in 1825, as appears by the Burial Register of St. Alkmund's, an extract from which was kindly furnished to me by the vicar of the parish.

VASE (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY COLCLOUGH.

Billingsley served the elder Duesbury till the latter's death in 1784, and continued with the younger Duesbury until the year 1796. He appears to have been, for some time, a publican at Derby, as well as a painter. Mr. Ll. Jewitt says that he obtained several of his accounts, by which it would seem that he was paid from £1 10s. to £2 per week at the Derby China Works. In one of his memoranda he asks for a draft of £30 on account, and states that he had lost some time at the works; that it was a matter of necessity; but that, in the course of a fortnight, he would quit the "Public business." The date given was the 23rd September, 1793. He was then landlord of the "Nottingham Arms," Bridgegate, Derby. Haslem says that he (Billingsley) was twenty (?) years at the Derby works; and that in 1795 or 1796, he went to Pinxton, in Derbyshire, to join Mr. Coke at his pottery-works there. Jewitt gives an extract from the "Factory Book" kept by Billingsley, in which, on the 2nd January, 1796, a bill of expenses is recorded of £39 4s. 7½d. (*vide The Reliquary*, vol. xxiv., page 89). The inference is that he went to Pinxton in 1795, or not later than the 1st January, 1796.* The works there, like that of Nantgarw, were built by the side of a canal. He was employed, principally, in the practical part of the work, leaving the artistic section, mainly, to others. But he must have painted as well, if only to teach and be an example to the young hands. There he introduced his granulated

* I have seen some deeds in the possession of Mr. Wheeldon, of Friargate, Derby, in which Billingsley is described as a china painter of Derby. One is dated 30th May, 1796. The probability is that the bill recorded by Jewitt was for preliminary expenses, drawing plans, etc., because the foundation of the buildings at Pinxton were not commenced till 26th October, 1795, and not opened till April, 1796. The first kiln was lighted 23rd of that month. At the end of the year 1796, the "Mill house" was altered for him to "house" his family in. According to Haslem, Billingsley wrote a manly letter, dated 14th October, 1796, to Duesbury, asking for reasons why it was considered that he (Billingsley) had not given sufficient "warning" (notice) to leave his employment. Also, that a short time previously Mr. Lygo, the London Agent, wrote to Duesbury urging him to try and retain Billingsley on account of his unique style in flower painting.

It looks as if he did not leave Duesbury and Derby to go permanently to Pinxton till some time late in 1796.

"frit" body, which he afterwards brought to such perfection at Nantgarw; and which he then kept secret. Mr. Coke's residence was at Debdale Hall, where are some fine specimens of Billingsley's china, painted by James Hadfield. The views are landscapes and sketches of various places, such as Buxton, Menai Straits, Caerphilly, etc. Curiously enough the latter place, with its grand old castle-ruin, is in the neighbourhood of Nantgarw. It must, therefore, have been known to Billingsley, and this fact may cast a side-light on his selection of Nantgarw at a subsequent period as a site for a pottery. Through some misunderstanding he left Pinxton in 1801, for, according to Harrod's "History of Mansfield," he is found there in that year, where he started a small works on his own account. He is described as Mr. Billingsley, of Belvedere Street. His work at Mansfield was mainly gilding and painting china procured from Staffordshire. His stay was a short one, as, in 1802, he removed to Torksey, in Lincolnshire. That place is situated by the Trent river, about seven miles from Gainsborough. Haslem says it was traditional that Billingsley's relatives did not know of his whereabouts till the year 1808. But this is doubtful. A deed, dated 25th October, 1805, describes him as of Torksey, Brampton; and Mrs. Fletcher, of Derby, told Mr. Haslem that her aunt (Mrs. Billingsley) went on a visit to her husband at Torksey; but the date is not given.

It was on leaving that place he changed or curtailed his name to that of "Beeley"; probably, as Haslem surmises, owing to some pecuniary difficulties. This is the most mysterious part of his career. It is stated that he twice passed Derby, after removing to Pinxton, but did not enter the town. On the first occasion he made an appointment to meet his brother-in-law a few miles outside of his native place. On another occasion, when on his way to South Wales, and in passing Derby, he left a

large box of china with a relative. The shyness in visiting Derby points to the probability of pecuniary difficulties, if any, having occurred there. Mr. Haslem says that a relative (Mr. Wheeldon) had several deeds, relating to property at Derby, in which Billingsley was concerned. One was dated 28th May, 1785; another, 5th September, 1787; a third, 30th May, 1796; a fourth is dated 20th June, 1797, and describes him of Derby China Works. The one of 1797, however, significantly adds, "but now of Pinxton." The last is dated 25th October, 1805, and describes him as of Torksey, in the county of Lincoln, china manufacturer. It is evident that his friends knew he was then at Torksey, which disposes of the assertion that they did not know such a fact; secondly, it proves that, for business purposes, his right name of Billingsley was used. It is incredible that he would change his name under such circumstances, in a small town, and not be found out, if he happened to be "wanted" (in a legal sense) for any purpose. It is more likely that his name of "Beeley" was given him by intimate acquaintances for shortness and familiarity; and he was easy-going enough to retain the *sobriquet*, or perhaps because he was then better known by it in "the trade" circles than by his own proper name. At the same time it must be admitted there was a desire for concealment, as appears by "Sarah B.'s" letter of October 24th, 1808 (see *post*). It may, therefore, have been convenient for a time to retain the name of "Beeley." But in the year 1811 the letters from Worcester were addressed in the proper family name, as if concealment was no longer necessary. The retention of "Beeley" at Nantgarw, etc., must, therefore, have been for trade purposes only,* or careless indifference.

* This point is more fully discussed in the "Nantgarw" section.

His wife parted with him by mutual consent, preferring to live at Derby, when he removed from Mansfield. She only twice saw him afterwards, though, when he went to Wales, it was with the understanding that she should again join him if his fortunes improved.

Mr. Jewitt states that, in a few years, he left Torksey and went to Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, to start another pot-works there—but there is no certainty about it.

In 1808 he set out for Swansea—his children (the two daughters) and Samuel Walker accompanying him. This speaks volumes for the man, as the girls evidently preferred the society of the father to that of the mother.

It would appear that the little party traversed the counties of Derby, Worcester, and Gloucester, taking ship at Bristol, bound to Swansea. On the passage a violent gale was encountered. In those days the vessel would be small, and, perhaps, unsafe. They were landed at Cardiff, it is supposed, and walked on to Swansea. Finding no adequate employment there—where probably Billingsley met Pardoe, if not Young as well—they walked back again as far as Worcester in October, 1808, where they obtained employment. The following letter from the daughter, Sarah, is worth giving *in extenso*, as it details the facts of the journey.

"Oct. 24, 1808.

"Dear Mother,

"I am only this day favour'd with your kind letter and my dear grandmother's kind present. I have been very anxious and unhappy till I heard from you. I was fearfull my letter had got lost or had fallen into somebody's hands it ought not, and might lead to discovery where we was and I thought if I wrote again that it might share the same fate. However, notwithstanding these doubts, I had wrote another letter, which I

intended to send in a few days, but your letter eased my doubts in that respect, although I cannot think what could be the reason of its being above a month on the road for yours was dated Sepr 20. Ever since we have been here we have gone frequently to the office, but they always said there was not a letter. Your prayers, my dear mother, are heard, and we are again in our native country, after experiencing very great hardships, which would fill sheets to recount, but which I shall take pleasure in relating to you when I have the happiness of seeing you, which I long to do, and I trust it will not be very long.

"I don't recollect whether I told you, after the storm and we got into harbour, that I durst not venture on ship-board again, but prefer'd walking between fifty and sixty miles. I was so terrified, anything was preferable to going on board again. I thought during the storm your last words were prophetic when you said you should never see us more; you may judge of my feelings, I had a thousand fears for you, and I doubted whether you would ever hear of our fate on account of the name we went by, but I thank God we were safe from those dangers. We were all sick, but I was dreadfully so. I was obliged to be put to bed, but the ship was in such a dreadful motion that I was knocked from the one side of the bed to the other for seven or eight hours. There were several passengers on board that had been several voyages, one of them had been in a storm or two before, but said they never experienced anything so dreadful, and I could not think of returning by sea, so we had to walk all the way back, which, in the whole, amounted to near four hundred miles, so you may judge of our fatigue, and we had some days very bad weather.

"I must now tell you father has got into a situation, but wages very low for a good hand. Indeed he has not more at present than the common hands. We were obliged to write out

of Wales to get them to advance a little money to help us back again. I dare not name the place we are at for fear of my letter being opened, but I think you will judge. My father's wages being so low and every thing so extremely high here, that with every frugality we could not subsist on it; and now Lavinia and myself have begun to go to work. I don't know what we are to have a week, but it is, I believe, very little at first. It is not burnishing. It is a kind of work you never saw (? printing per Haslem). You may judge of the low wages here, when I tell you that when a young woman first goes to burnishing she has not more than 3s. 6d. a week for the first year, and never more than 6s. when they have worked four or five years. Lodgings and house rent is uncommonly dear. We pay 6s. a week for two rooms, and they are reckoned the cheapest in the town. We cannot get a bit of bread-flour under 3s. 6d. a stone, and everything dear in proportion. We go to work at seven in the morning, and leave at seven at night, but I am troubling you with what cannot render you any service. I was very ill for a few days after we got here, but am now very well indeed. Mr. W. has not got a situation yet, but the person whom we work for has promised to think of a place for him as soon as he can. I wish, my dear mother, I had it in my power to send you something, but, after relating the particulars I have, you will see it is not now in my power, but I hope when our wages comes to be settled, and Mr. W. gets into work, I will be able to send you something to come to us. So short was we of money that we could not pay the lodgings, but when your and dear grandmother's kind present came in, I paid 12s. of it for a fortnight's lodgings.

"Will you have the goodness, my dear mother, to present my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Adlington, and say to them how grateful I feel to them for their kindness to you, and likewise

their kind wishes in regard to my sister, and that I hope a time may come when I may have an opportunity of evincing my gratitude. Do be very particular in observing if the seal of this letter is safe, and write to me very soon, and I will then in my next say where we are and all particulars. I am very sorry to hear grandmother and yourself have been so poorly, but sincerely hope you are both better. Don't forget to give my best respects to S. Rawson and family, and also thank them in my name for their kindness, and best love to Aunt Boot when you see her. I think, dear mother, if you have not been at Derby you had better go in a little while, as they expressed such a wish to see you, particularly Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Duesbury ;. each of them wished you to spend a few weeks with them. I wish you was with us.

"I am afraid you will hardly be able to make all my letter out ; indeed, I can hardly see what I have written, my eyes ache so with looking at work all day. Father and Lavinia join in love to you and grandmother, and respects to all. I have many things I could wish to tell you, but durst not for fear of any accident happening to my letter. In yours, do tell me all you know about things are settled. Have you heard anything of Turner? I had some thoughts of writing to him, but hardly knew how to act, as his conduct was strange.

"Adieu, my dear mother, and believe me your affectionate

"SARAH B.

"Mr. W. desires his best respects to you and grandmother. Don't forget to say everything for me to Mr. and Mrs. Adlington and S. Rawson. Direct your letter the same as the last."

A very singular coincidence, though on a different date, of the storm mentioned in Sarah Billingsley's letter of 24th October, 1808, is found in the pamphlet of Mr. Barber, F.S.A. It is entitled, "A Tour through South Wales and Monmouthshire" (London ; Cadelle & Daws, 1803). At page 14 Mr. Barber says

that he and a friend left Bristol, bound to Swansea, in a sloop. There were a number of passengers, mostly Welsh women, and who were very merry at starting. At the mouth of the Avon, however, the wind shifted and began to blow, the sky became overcast, the sea rose, and a deluge of rain came down. The seamen looked disappointed, and the women screamed when a wave broke over the vessel. As night came on the women were placed in the small cabin—"a hole of a place"—and were packed therein "like fish in a basket." They were very sick in consequence, which changed their preceding merriment to a very different feeling. After beating about the Channel all night, they were enabled to reach Swansea next day in a very distressful condition. This was rather like, no doubt, the Billingsleys' experience five years subsequently, only they had not to put into an intermediate port. The picture, however, is somewhat confirmatory of the description given by Miss Billingsley of the sort of voyage in small vessels which the people of those days sometimes suffered. Mr. Barber does not, unfortunately, mention anything about the potters in his subsequent notes about Swansea and its neighbourhood.

"Sarah B.'s" letter speaks forcibly for the good feeling that seems to have existed in this affectionate, but unfortunate family. In passing on to Worcester from Swansea, it is very likely the pilgrims would journey past Nantgarw. Young mentions in his diary that he went to Worcester from Newton-Nottage via Nantgarw. In the early part of the century it was a common thing for farmers and others to go from the Monmouthshire valleys via Caerphilly, Nantgarw, and Llandaff, and then strike the main road to Swansea, to enjoy the bathing season there. Hence, if Billingsley took that route, he may have been struck with the adaptability of the place—in one respect, at least, like Pinxton—for a pot-works. It had the canal close at hand, a good

supply of coal, plenty of clay for saggers, and was in proximity to Cardiff as a handy seaport.

Haslem, in speaking of the letter given above, says it had the Worcester postmark on it ; that it was addressed to Mr. John Rawson, Blackwell, near Alfreton, Derbyshire, a relative with whom Mrs. Billingsley was residing ; that there was no surname to it ; and that, to prevent tampering, it was fastened with a wafer and then sealed ; all which precautions indicated a dread of discovery. The "Mr. W." mentioned doubtless meant Mr. Walker, to whom Sarah, probably, was then engaged to be married. The four hundred miles travelled is probably an exaggerated estimate, justified by the distressful situation they were in, for their fatigue would add much to the apparent distance. There were many letters written by this affectionate daughter to her mother ; but the only other one preserved is dated 9th April, 1811, accompanied by a small present "by favour of Mr. Keys." It is dated from Worcester, and addressed to Mrs. Billingsley herself at Derby, which indicates that the fears of discovery had been overcome. At Worcester, Walker distinguished himself by introducing and building the Reverberatory Enamel Kiln, which has been of great service since. Billingsley himself went to Coalport from Worcester in 1811, to introduce it there, but could not agree with Mr. Rose, the proprietor of the pottery works, and came back to Worcester. Billingsley, apparently, then set out for Nantgarw, where he commenced operations. An account of his experience there is given in another part of this book (see the division headed "Nantgarw"). Suffice it to say that, in 1814, he and his family removed to Swansea on Mr. Dillwyn's invitation ; and in 1817 they returned to Nantgarw, probably about the month of May. In September, Lavinia died, her sister having predeceased her at Swansea, as already stated. Poor Billingsley was all but crushed, as the following pathetic letter will clearly show. It is as follows :—

"My dear Sarah,

"My sufferings are now arrived at the highest pitch of misery. I lost, on the 1st January, my dear Sarah, my dearest (now departed) Lavinia wrote to you to state the event. But I have scarce calm'd a little my feelings for the loss of my dear Sarah, than our dearest Lavinia is taken from me—the only prop I had left to comfort and assist me in the great worldly sufferings I have to contend with. The dearest child was taken last Monday morning with a violent pain in her stomach and bowels. I sent as soon as possible for a doctor. It proved an inflammation produced by a cold caught the day before. Every attention I could suggest and obtain for her relief hath prov'd in vain. In violent pain she continued. But much hopes of recovery I had and the doctor had on Saturday and Sunday morning, but on Sunday (yesterday) in the evening she was suddenly worse. The doctor stopp'd all night. This morning to my inconsolable grief I found all hopes of recovery was at an end. I wish I had means to send for you. I have none The dear child departed this life in 21 hours after the last attack. She died in my presence at a little before one o'clock this day, to enjoy everlasting bliss above, leaving me a distress'd, inconsolable mortal, never more to be happy.

"The dreadful event will shock you too much, but I feel bound to relate it to you.

"My difficulties here are great—my success uncertain for want of a little money. My loss is greater in my dearest Lavinia. She was my only stay and comfort.

"I can write no more—remaining your afflicted and affectionate

"WM. BEELEY."

"Nantgarrow (*sic*), near Cardiff, South Wales,
"Sep. 8th, 1817."

Biscuit Vase (half size) modelled by Goodsby.

In a postscript he adds: "I wish you were here, but the present uncertain state of my affairs and the want of means, I do not see the prudence or means of attaining that point; and the now troubled state of my mind renders hope of happiness here impossible. The dear Angel was my prop, my support and comfort in all my troubles, since the death of her dear sister. When both were living I had their united assistance—think oh, think, what trouble I have, but all my troubles are to me nothing compared with the severe loss of my dearest children, whom no man ador'd more. My dear Sarah, your grief will be great. Remember my kindest regard to brother Wheeldon and family."

This letter was addressed to "Mrs. Billingsley, at Mr. Wheeldon's, Nottingham Arms Yard, Bridge Gate, Derby."

It bears the Merthyr Tydfil postmark.

Surely no better proof could be afforded of the depth of the man's nature than this most pathetic epistle. If he was unfortunate in financial matters, he had no base motive to guide him. His ideals were lofty; there was no meanness in his nature; it was a case of a good man struggling with adversity all through his career.

Three more years of partial success, artistically, and fiscal failure, brought him to his knees again, and he was obliged to set out as a wanderer and pilgrim once more. This time (1819) it was to Coalport, near which place he died in 1828, in his seventieth year.

As Mr. Jewitt justly says: He passed away in complete obscurity, and in much greater poverty than his talents deserved.*

* An extract (with additions) from "The Ceramic Art of Great Britain," by Mr. Ll. Jewitt, is given in footnotes on two following pages. Pedigree drawn from parish registers, etc., by Mr. Jewitt.

It is remarkable how little of Beeley's work can be identified. During the long period of over half a century, he must have turned out a large quantity of decorative art. But, notwithstanding, the memory of his great ability lives. At Coalport and its neighbourhood, even his name has been utilised in a proverbial manner. It is there, among the workmen, a synonym for cleverness. For instance, if "John Smith" distinguishes himself in any way as a potter or painter, etc., he is immediately dubbed "Beeley Smith." Billingsley's abilities were not confined to one branch. He was a potter of the first class as he was a painter of the first class, and we have it, on the authority of Henry Morris, that he designed the most beautiful forms for the modellers.

WILLIAM BILLINGSLEY of Derby. Buried at St. Alkmund's, Derby, 4th March, 1770. = MARY. Survived her husband.

- WILLIAM BILLINGSLEY = SARAH RIGLEY, married at St. Alkmund's, Derby, 4th Nov., 1780. Buried at St. Alkmund's, Derby, 7th June, 1825, aged 64.
  - WILLIAM BILLINGSLEY, bap. at St. Alkmund's, Derby, 12th Oct., 1758. Apprenticed to Duesbury, 20th Sept., 1774, China Painter, etc. Buried at Kemberton, Salop, 19th Jan., 1828, in his 70th year.
  - SARAH BILLINGSLEY, bap. 21st Jan., 1760, buried 24th July, 1764.
  - ELIAS BILLINGSLEY.
- = MARY.
  - MARY BILLINGSLEY, bap. 4th Oct., 1763.
  - SARAH BILLINGSLEY, bap. 1st Oct., 1764, buried 27th Sept., 1773.
  - —— BILLINGSLEY, posthumous daughter of Mary Billingsley, widow. Bap. 3rd June, 1770.

SARAH BILLINGSLEY, bap. 14th Sept., 1783 (?), buried at the Parish Church, Swansea, 4th Jan., 1817, aged 31 (?), as appears by the Register of that church copied for me by the Rev. J. D. Thompson. = GEORGE (? SAMUEL) WALKER, china maker, associated with Billingsley.

JAMES BILLINGSLEY, bap. 11th Aug., 1793, buried 12th Nov., 1793.

LAVINIA BILLINGSLEY, bap. 1st Nov., 1795. (In the register this is oddly entered, "Samuel" being substituted for Sarah.) Died at Nantgarw, and buried at Eglwysilan, Sept. 10th, 1817. In the register of that parish she is entered "Lavinia, daughter of William and Sarah Beeley, Nantgarw, aged 21 years."

JAMES BILLINGSLEY, bap. 3rd Nov., 1795.

SAMUEL WALKER.

Mr. Walker was the potter *par excellence* evidently of the porcelain made at Nantgarw and Swansea. It is not recorded that he had any artistic skill. He is said to have invented the Reverberatory Enamel Kiln, and that he introduced it at Worcester, where, to keep its nature a secret, he is understood to have worked at the formation of it at night. The same kind of kiln is used at Worcester to this day. Up to Walker's time iron muffles—according to Binns—had been used; but they required a preparatory kiln. Walker could not have invented the new enamel kiln, because it was previously employed in London and at Derby. Then, again, we find in Smiles' "Industrial Biography" (tin workers, etc.), that the Reverberatory

"Burials in the parish of Kemberton, in the county of Salop, in the year 1828.

Name.	*Abode.*	*When buried.*	*Age.*	*By whom ceremony performed.*
"William Beeley ...	Kemberton ...	19th January ...	70	J. Williams, Curate.

"The above is a true copy of the burial register of the parish of Kemberton, Salop, taken by me, March 30th, 1893."

W. G. R. Blaby, Rector.

"The Rectory, Kemberton,
"Shifnal, March 30th, 1893.

"Dear Sir,

"I think the annexed is what you require; glad to be of help to you.

"Yours truly,
"W. G. R. Blaby,
"Rector of Kemberton, and
"Vicar of Sutton Maddock.

"W. Turner, Esq."

"St. Alkmund's Vicarage,
"Derby, 17th Sept., 1892.

"Dear Sir,

"Wm. Billingsley or Beeley.

"The above name is not in our Burial Register anywhere about the years 1827-1828. I have searched through a few years before and after these years, and twice through the years themselves. The wife we have—see other side. You need not send anything for the search.

"Faithfully yours,
"J. S. Owen.

"Mr. Turner, Cardiff."

"Endorsement.

"*Name.*	*Residence.*	*Date of Burial.*	*Age.*
"Sarah Billingsley.	Bridge Gate.	7th June, 1825.	64."

Furnace was first applied to iron-smelting by Richard Reynolds, in 1766; and that it was invented by two foremen of his. Their surname was Cranage, and it was patented in that name. A note says it is mentioned by Rovensen in his "Treatise of Metallics," in 1613. The note describes it thus:—"It consists of three parts—fireplace at one end; chimney at the other; and a bed between both, on which the matter is heated. The fireplace is separated from the bed by a low partition wall called the firebridge. Both are covered by an arched roof which rises from the end wall of the fireplace, and gradually dips towards the farthest part of the bed connected with the stack. On one or both sides of the bed, or at the end nearest the stack, may be openings through which the ore, spread over the surface of the bed, may be stirred about and exposed to the action of the air. The matter is heated in such a furnace by flame, and is kept from contact with the solid fuel. The flame in its course from the fireplace to the stack is reflected on the matter, or *reverberated* on the matter beneath; whence the name of 'Reverberatory Furnace or Kiln.'" Of course this one was for iron smelting; the enamel furnace was for pottery. Who invented it? It is clear, however, that the above statements dispose of Walker's claim to the invention; but, nevertheless, he has the merit of introducing it at the Worcester Pot-works.

Walker's Christian name is given by Jewitt and others as "George," and that the initials "G. W." on the Nantgarw ware stand for the initials of his first and second names. Probably this surmise gave the clue to the false name of "George." The initials on the ware are really "C. W." when looked at closely, and Mr. Chaffers in his book—"Marks and Monograms"—is likely to be correct when he assumes those initials to mean "China Works." Walker's Christian name was

"Samuel." He signed as such on the "Memorial" of 1814, which was sent up to the Board of Trade, by Sir John Nicholl. He is also called "Samuel" in the trial case of 1821 between Roby and others *v.* Dillwyn. In "The Complete Practical Potter" (Shelton: 1847) a Nantgarw potting receipt is given, and it is stated to be by "Mr. S. Walker." The evidence is conclusive that the name is Samuel and not George. Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, in his letter to Dr. Lardner, says the name "Walker" was assumed; but that is mere assertion. No proof of it exists. Mr. Dillwyn also says that he forgot Walker's other name, no doubt meaning the Christian name.

Sarah Billingsley, in her letter of 1808 from Worcester, addressed to her mother, mentions a "Mr. W.," clearly meaning Walker, who accompanied Billingsley on the journey to Swansea and back to Worcester during that year. Haslem says that Walker married Sarah Billingsley, and was also reported as the husband of Lavinia—the younger daughter. She was only a girl of tender age when she went with her father and sister to Swansea in 1808. She was born in 1796, and died at Nantgarw in September, 1817. Her sister, Sarah, was born in 1785, and died at Swansea in January, 1817, aged 31—about Walker's age. The two girls appear to have been of good character and well conducted, judging from the letters of Sarah, and from what "Beeley" says of Lavinia in his most pathetic letter to his wife, recording the poor young woman's death. The probability is that Walker and Sarah Billingsley were married at Worcester, between 1808 and 1811, for Richard Millward spoke of Walker's "children" at Nantgarw. This implied that they were quite young—about the year 1817. Eunice Hodgkin at Coalport remembered "Beeley" and Walker living together in "The Cottage," with "Betty" as housekeeper; and that Walker had then a son and daughter.

Walker is noted by the authorities as being a clever potter. In addition to the Enamel Kiln at Worcester and his production of the finest porcelain at Nantgarw and Swansea—in conjunction with "Beeley"—he is said to have introduced at Coalport a ware with "maroon-coloured ground," which was much sought after. Mr. Dillwyn seems to have treated him as the principal in his transactions with these two potters, for Walker signed the agreement. This may have been owing to Billingsley using his curtailed name at Swansea. Walker is said to have often gone to London ostensibly on business; that he mingled a good deal in society there; and, practically, idled away his time to the great loss of the Nantgarw speculation. This is a surmise or statement of one of the best informed of my correspondents, but I have found no proof of the allegation. On the contrary, Richard Millward said that Walker went away sometimes, but not often. Probably he went to the Metropolis after the "Memorial" was sent, in order to explain its statements and objects personally; and, also, to deal with Mortlock for the sale of the ware. Millward describes him as a man of thirty years of age about the year 1817; that he was of fair complexion, middle height, and not so hasty in temper as "Beeley." On the other hand, Henry Morris, at Swansea said he did not like him, as he spoke rather disrespectfully of his father-in-law, for whom Morris had a great admiration. He left Nantgarw about the same time as "Beeley" to go to Coalport, where he worked till the latter's death in 1828. He then went, Jewitt says, to New Troy, in the United States of America, and started a china factory there, at which place he was heard of by Mr. Jewitt in 1854. The late Mr. Soden Smith, Keeper of the Art Section, South Kensington Museum, was sent by the Government to the Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, to report on the Art Exhibits, especially pottery. In his

report he mentions "The Walker Manufacturing Company, New York," as exhibitors in the glass section, for silvered and cut glass for insertion in furniture, cut in "various forms by exhibitors." Could this be the same firm? It may be remembered that at the sale of Nantgarw ware at Cowbridge in 1821, some porcelain for decorating furniture was sold. At all events, there is a coincidence here. The Nantgarw porcelain was not far removed from glass in its texture. Millward said that "Beeley" and Walker kept their receipts for the china a secret; so that the latter must have known the ingredients. Haslem says that Walker was probably mixed up with "Beeley" in some questionable financial transaction, and hence the desire for concealment of name, etc. He asserts that Billingsley's friends at Derby had no knowledge of Walker at all. It is probable that the two met at Torksey for the first time. If there had been any very serious chicanery on their part, it is very unlikely that they would have remained unmolested for twenty years; especially as their porcelain became so famous in the London market, and, doubtless, in other parts of the country.

Mr. Dillwyn treated Walker as the principal in his dealings with them at Swansea. It was he who signed the agreement for removing from Nantgarw to Swansea; and it was he who had the offer to take over the business in 1815. There must have been exceptional ability and tact in the man to be thus treated. Moreover, it was Walker who was consulted in "improving" the porcelain "body" to enable it to resist the tendency to fuse. This fact is mentioned by Henry Morris in his statement to Col. Francis.

WILLIAM WESTON YOUNG.

As already stated Mr. Young was an extraordinary man, both physically and mentally. A kind of modern "admirable Crichton"

he must have been. His attainments were singular and extensive. For instance, he could write prose or poetry; he could paint on canvas or china; was a land-surveyor; inventor; discoverer of the Dinas sand for the manufacture of a superior kind of fire-brick; and the pioneer of the men who found the brine pits near Stoke Prior, in the county of Worcester.

He was born on the 20th April, 1776,* at Bristol, in the county of Gloucester. He died in 1847, at Bewdley, in Worcestershire. He was married 14th April, 1795, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert and Hannah Davies, of Minehead, Somerset. Mrs. Young was born on the 7th May, 1765, and died 10th March, 1842. She was interred at Redcliffe, Bristol. They had no children. Mr. Young's father's name was Edward, who was a landowner and corn merchant at Olveston and Bristol. Our artist appears to have taken early to china painting. We find him in April, 1803,† at Swansea, employed in the Cambrian Pottery, then owned by Mr. Dillwyn. This is apparent by a letter dated 8th April, 1803, from Neath, written by Mr. Joseph Young to his wife at Lewin's Mead, Bristol. By the kindness of Col. J. W. Young, of Preswylfa, Neath, I have seen and perused that letter. The writer was the grandfather of Col. Young, of Neath, and the brother of Mr. W. Weston Young, the artist. The letter relates that "William" was found at work, painting, at Swansea; that the two went for a walk to Neath, to see the neighbourhood. It is incidentally stated that he (W. W. Young) was engaged at that time painting a set of ware for Mr. Haynes' own use. It was to consist of twelve dozen different pieces, each piece having a different landscape thereon and painted from Nature. To this end Mr. Young was two days each week

* By the favour of Mr. Henry Fardon, of Bristol, I was enabled to verify this date by inspecting the Register of Births at the Meeting House of the Society of Friends, Rosemary Street, Bristol.

† He went to Swansea in January, 1803, as appears by an entry in his wife's diary.

tramping about in order to select and sketch the varied aspects in which Nature presents herself in the famous "Vale of Neath." It would be most interesting to identify that set of ware, no doubt "opaque china," and compare his earlier and later style. In 1835—thirty-two years subsequently—he brought out a "Guide to the Scenery of Glyn Neath." It was printed by John Wright, of Bristol, and published by Longman, of London. The preface says:—"The drawing, etching, colouring, and writing being all done by my own hand." The "Guide" contains fifteen coloured sketches, all pasted in; a sketch map; a piece of music entitled "Y'r aderyn ddu" (black-bird). There are also several pieces of original poetry interspersed. The views are of the Clyngwyn Falls and other pretty scenes. His trips in 1803 would render him familiar with every nook and corner of that delightful valley and, probably, some of the sketches are the same as those on the service of ware painted for Mr. Haynes.

It would appear by the letter from Mr. Joseph Young, that some "business" for Mr. W. W. Young was contemplated, for it stated that he (Joseph) had not done much about the business, only to see how it was to better "William" and himself. Young seems to have accumulated some money, otherwise he could not have made advances to Billingsley as he did. He probably continued at the Cambrian Works till he went to Newton Nottage in 1806, as appears by an entry in Mrs. Young's diary. It is dated 6th April, 1807, at Newton Nottage, and refers to the success of her husband in raising a wreck on the coast. It is incidentally stated that they had been there for six months. He does not appear to have profited much by his artistic labours at the pottery. In an entry of the diary above quoted, dated 6th June, 1807, it is recorded that her husband pursues his business (? land-surveying) with success;

that a year previous they were in low circumstances, but now were much better off.

The Newton referred to above is situated near Porthcawl, and near the mouth of the Ogmore river. Young was employed there mostly in land surveying. He probably did some painting in his leisure hours. The house he lived in is still pointed out, and his memory is green in the place. A general lamentation ensued at his departure from it, which was, probably, in 1823. The late Mr. Charles Pardoe, of Mountain Ash, told me that he remembered seeing him depart to proceed to the Salt Works, near Stoke Prior, in or about that year. There is a copy extant of an agreement, *vide* the Catalogue of Jermyn Street Museum, which runs thus: "That he (Morgan) shall not make bricks or any other article from the same sand (Dinas) without the consent of W. W. Young, who does, also, agree on his part to bind himself in the same manner, and under the same penalties (£5,000), not to reveal the said method to any other person or persons, or to make any fire-brick or other articles for sale from the said sand, without the consent of Mr. D. Morgan, but that he shall be at all times at liberty to use the said materials for his own purposes at his china manufactory at Nantgarw, or elsewhere."

This document was dated on the 2nd February, 1822, and was signed by David Morgan, of Neath, Ironmonger; and by William Weston Young, of the parish of Newton Nottage, Land Surveyor.

Bricks from the Dinas sand are still manufactured. They are made by "The Vale of Neath Fire-Brick and Cement Company, Limited." It is extremely interesting to note that the managing director—Colonel Young, of Preswylfa, Neath—is grand-nephew of the famous artist and potter—Mr. W. Weston Young. Dr. Percy, the eminent metallurgist, in his standard

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

work on "Metallurgy," says: "This brick consists almost entirely of silica. It was invented by Mr. W. Weston Young, in 1822 (? 1821), who established a company for the manufacture of the brick, and obtained the material from Dinas, the well-known rock of that name, in the Vale of Neath. When set in its own cement, for very high and long continued heats it (the Dinas brick) certainly will exceed in duration any other known brick. I procured two samples from the Dinas rock; the one contained 98·31 silica, and the other 96·73 per cent." Again, in the "Text Book of Science" by Bloxam and Huntingdon (1882), it is stated that siliceous bricks were invented in 1822, made from a rock in the Vale of Neath, and are used in the Siemens and Bessemer converters. In the advertisement of the company it is stated that: "The celebrated, genuine, Dinas Fire-Bricks . . . stand unequalled for application to intense and long-continued heat. . . . The extraordinary and exceptional fireproof qualities of these bricks have secured them the first position in England, France, Germany, Russia, and North and South America. Placed in furnaces above the wash of the molten metal, and above the clinker-line in the grates, they display qualities to great advantage."

Diagrams of seventeen different shapes are advertised, among which are "Segmental Retorts"; "Bevil side"; "Feather edge"; "Side Arch," etc., etc.

The inventor certainly did a good thing for our manufactures, if he did not benefit much himself personally in their production.

Sir William Thomas Lewes writes, under date 11th October, 1887:—"I may observe, with reference to the entry in Mr. Young's diary of the 18th October, 1822 (a copy of which I sent to him), that Mr. Young and his partner (Mr. Allen) were tenants of the late Marquis of Bute, for some silica sand at the Dinas Rock, Glynneath, for the purpose of brickmaking."

This must mean the renewed lease to the artist's nephew—the late father of Colonel Young—whose partner was a Mr. Allen. Mr. W. W. Young's partner was Mr. David Morgan, of Neath, and the first lease was made in 1821 for twenty-one years, at expiry of which Mr. John Matthew Young acquired the taking. The present occupation dates from 1883.

When Young invented the mode of making the bricks from Dinas sand, doubtless he obtained a sum of money from Mr. Morgan for imparting the secret of their manufacture, and for other privileges. This money may have helped him in his Nantgarw speculation, and, perhaps, in others. In 1819 he bought the Nantgarw Works, which he sold up in October, 1822. It will be seen that the Neath agreement is dated in February of that year. He, like many other men of genius, appears to have been unfortunate in money matters. His salt explorations were not successful for himself, individually, but may be said to have been a source of success to others. He missed his mark when he sunk a shaft at Stoke Prior, by only a few yards. The place was explored by another gentleman, who followed nearly in Young's track, and found the salt. Several other speculations were equally unsuccessful.

Mr. Young was evidently a highly talented man. His versatility was very conspicuous. Had he settled down to any one special occupation he might have profited better, both for purse and in fame. His paintings on the china are much admired ; and probably were the best things, artistically, which he ever did. He is also said to have invented and prepared a glaze for the china. Colonel Young informs me that one of the great merits of the Swansea and Nantgarw china was this glaze. If so, it would probably be the later manufacture.

The late Mr. Henry Morris—one of the Swansea artists—spoke of Young with admiration, and affirmed that he had

invented a glaze. I should like to have evidence if this were so. There is, however, some confirmation of it in Young's diary, wherein he says :—"2nd March, 1821, went to Nantgarw. Mr. Pardoe and Wm. there. Tried glaze-frit in the muffle."

As the diary sheds some light on the dates, etc., connected with both Swansea and Nantgarw Works, I here make a few extracts from it—by the kind favour of Colonel Young, who is in possession of it—but it is imperfect. They are as follows :—

"July, 1808. Remitted cheque to T. Pardoe." (This shows his intimacy with Pardoe, who was then at Swansea.)

"4 : June, 1814.	Forward	£30	0	0
do.	Draft on Walker & Bailey (*sic*)	100	0	0
26 : do.	ditto	100	0	0
28 do.	ditto	100	0	0
do.	ditto	98	14	2
8 Aug.	ditto	100	0	0
21 do.	ditto	100	0	0
do.	ditto	200	0	0"

(Young had been at Newton for eight years, and had evidently saved money. This generosity shows the art-enthusiasm of the man.)

In his letter to the *Cambrian* of 19th October, 1822, he says that he had advanced the potters at Nantgarw £600 in 1814. In their memorial to the Board of Trade, they said they had expended £2,000 on the works. The above sum of £798 14s. 2d. may have formed a part of the capital named.

"17 Sepr., 1814. At Margam. Bailey (? Beeley) and Pardoe there."

(This indicates that the three men were in close intimacy, if not actually related, in business.)

"23rd Sepr., 1814. R. Jenkins, Walker's Draft, £30.
24 ,, ,, At Nantgarw.
25 ,, ,, Returned home.
26 ,, ,, At Swansea.
27 ,, ,, At Nantgarw.
29 ,, ,, At Swansea.
? Walker agreed with Mr. Dillwyn
12 : Oct., 1814. Pd. Carriage of Stores to Nantgarw, 15/-
14 Oct., 1814. Expenses at Nantgarw, 9/-.
21 ,, At Swansea, and returned evening."

(These entries prove that Mr. Young took an active personal interest in Nantgarw Works in 1814, and that it was in September that the agreement was made with Dillwyn to remove to Swansea.)

"1817, 2nd May. Pd. Walker & Beeley draft on T. Pardoe at 2 months, and on J. Young at 2 months, £30 each."

(This was probably about the time that Beeley and Walker returned to Nantgarw.)

"1818, 1 Jan. Paid W. Beeley £ 5 0 0
,, 6 ,, Paid W. Beeley £20 0 0
,, 6 ,, Paid Betty (something undecipherable) potatoes and butter, 6d."

("Betty" was the housekeeper to Beeley and Walker at the time. This small sum for necessaries seems to indicate the hardships which characterised the lives of these struggling men at that time. There is a gap in the diary here. The next entry traceable is for 1st January, 1821. It seems to indicate that Walker and Beeley had left, for they are no longer mentioned.)

"1st Jan., 1821. Set off from Rock and Fountain by Hun (? horse) to Passage, thence by coach to Bristol. Expenses enumerated.

"3rd. Left Bristol in 'Cambrian' to Newport. Went to Risca on account of Mr. T. Sanders and Mr. Bigg, etc.; saw them evening at Newport. A little snow.

"4th. Borrowed of Mr. Reed, 10/-. Paid at Westgate house, 7/-. Went to Risca; surveyed coal and mine, etc. Received of T. Sanders, £5. Went to 'Caerfilly' in the evening. Frost continues—wind east.

"5th. Left Caerfilly this morning. Paid expenses, 7/6. At Nantgarw—Pd. T. Pole, £3 2s. od. Went to Mr. Coffin's 'Pitt.' Llandaff in the evening—snows fast.

"6th. In Cardiff, saw Mr. J. Wood. Returned home. Pd. for Tea at Cowbridge, 4/-; Sundries, 2/8.

"7th. Sunday, at home.

"8th. Mapping for T. L. Williams, etc., etc. Recd. of Howell John, Jr., 1 Bus. Barley, 3/-. Pd. D. Perkin, 9/-. ½ Bus. Wheat, 3/6.

"9th. At Baglan and Neath. Retd. Evg.

"10th. At Cardiff, Bolston, etc., saw Mr. Gwynn, etc. Took my own horse again from T. Redwood.

"11th. At Nantgarw—went with Mr. Coffin to Mr. Goodrich's 'Pitt' (measurements). Went to Mr. Coffin's Bore-hole and level.

"12th. Painting at Nantgarw—stormy day.

"13th. Went to Bedwas with Mr. Howell. T. Pole went to Cardiff. Recd. of Mr. Coffin, £5 os. od. Pd. T. Pole, £2 4s. od. Returned home by 'Lantrissant.' Pd. in full at Coychurch, 6/-. D. Perkins, amt. to this day, 7/-, paid in full.

"14th. (Sunday) at home.

"15th. At home, painting, etc.; very 'wett.' Pd. Edward John, £3.

"16th. Took in rick of Barley. Went to Newbridge in the evening; pd. expenses, 9/-.

"17th. At Mr. Coffin's Colliery (measurements given). At 'Pitt' till near evening; saw Mr. Coffin. Went to Nantgarw.

"18th. Painting at Nantgarw. Went to 'Landaff' in the evening.

"19th. In Cardiff; saw Mr. J. Wood. 'Landaff' in the evening. Slept at Mr. Coffin's.

"20th. Went to Nantgarw. The biscuit kiln fired to-day, but not fired up; fired the muffle in the evening. Went to Mr. Coffin's 'Pitt,' and to Cardiff in the evening.

"Moneys due to Wm. W. Young, 1st January, 1821.

Lord Clarendon	£151	0	0
Mr. Anthony Hill	50	0	0
Mr. Llewellyn Boyland	30	0	0
Mr. J. Edwards, Rhela (? Rheola) ..	12	0	0
Mr. N. Wood, for Mr. Knight ...	20	0	0
Mr. E. P. Richards, for the Crown ...	14	0	0
	£277	0	0

"23rd Jany., 1821. At Cardiff.

Recd. of Capt. Lanley for China ...	£1	18	6
Pd. Thomas Pole	1	0	0
Pd. Mr. Pardoe at Nantgarw and Newton	0	8	0
Pd. W. W. Young, Bristol	0	10	0
Pd. T. Bigg, Swansea	2	0	0
Sent Mrs. Pardoe, the 26th	3	0	0
Pd. for saddle	0	3	0

Rode with T. Redwood to Bolston, and from thence to Newton.

"24 Jany., 1821. $5\frac{3}{4}$ Bus. Barley cleared. Miss Jenkins took her first lesson. Recd. entrance, £1 1s. Went to Neath in the afternoon with my wife. Paid postage, 3/-. Gave Mr. Gwyn bill at 3 mo., £68 14s. Discount, 17/6.

"25th Jany., 1821. Recd. of Mr. Gwyn, £10. Surveying for Neath Canal.

"26th do. Surveying for Neath Canal.

"27th do. Surveying at Giant's Grave for Neath Canal. My wife returned home. Pd. for Brandy, 5/7½; do. for paper, 4/-.

"28th do. Sunday—returned home this morning.

"29th do. Pd. D. Perkins, 10/-. Pd. Wm. Henry what I borrowed, £1. Went to Lanharry; surveyd Colliery for Mr. Samuel; slept at Bolston.

"30th Jany., 1821. Went to Welsh St. Donats and to Mr. Coffin's Colliery and Nantgarw. Cardiff in the evening.

"31st do. Saw Mr. Jno. Wood at work about Canal maps.

"1st Feby., 1821. Called at Bolston. Recd. of Mr. T. Bassett, Draft six weeks, £50. Pd. Mr. Bradley his bill, and my bill to Mr. Thomas, £14. Discd. £50 draft, pd. £1. Paid Geo. Thomas, £2. Do. for Tea, 6/-. Retd. home in the evening.

"2nd do. At home most of the day. Lantrissant in the evening, paid 4/6. Sent calf to Bridgend.

"3rd do. At Mr. Coffin's Colliery. Nantgarw after dinner. Pd. Thos. Jones (?) £7 2s.

"4th do. Sunday—at Nantgarw.

"5th do. At Nantgarw surveying. Pd. Blacksmith's bill, £1. Cardiff in the evening. Remitted to Mr. Clitsanes, bill £20.

"6th do. At Bolston, Mr. Samuel's. Nantgarw in the afternoon.

"7th do. At Nantgarw surveying.

"8th do. do. do. At Mr. Coffin's Colliery in the morning. Cardiff and Landaff in the evening. Mr. Humphrey offers to sell Frampton for £9,000.

"9th Feby., 1821. At Nantgarw, called at Mr. Samuel's in the evening. Slept at Bolston. Recd. of Thos. Pole, 2/6.

"10th do. At Cowbridge. Bought sundries at Mr. Woods. Home in the afternoon.

"11th do. Sunday, at Home. Pd. Thomas Thomas' man £1—old debt.

"12th do. Went to Neath—delivered maps and valuation of canal to Mr. Gwyn's clerk. Went to Swansea in the evening. Saw Mr. Pardoe.

"13th do. Returned home—called at Bagland. Recd. of G. Lewellyn, Esq., £10. Pd. sundries, 7/-. Went to Nantgarw.

"14th do. Pd. Edward John, £1. Pd. Stradley Thomas, £1. (Other items). At home mapping.

"15th do. Went to Cowbridge. Delivered maps to T. L. Williams. Recd. £7 0s. 0d. Pd. Wm. David, £3 0s. 0d. Called on Mr. Samuel. Left my Horse at St. Nicholas—walked to Cardiff—deliver'd J. Wood's map. Cardiff in the evening.

"16th do. At Nantgarw. L. Williams surveying. Thos. James, etc., dipping ware. Cardiff in the evening.

"17th do. Called at Mr. Samuel's and at Lanharry. Pd. for my horse and expenses, 6/6. Returned home evening, etc., etc.

"18th do. Sunday—at home.

"19th do. Set off for Lanharry. Called at the 'Pitt'; wrote to Mr. Samuel; went to Nantgarw. At Mr. Coffin's 'Pitt' in the afternoon. Nantgarw in the evening.

"20th do. At Nantgarw all day, mapping and painting. Mr. Pardoe came Tuesday.

"21st do. At Cardiff; returned in the evening to Nantgarw. Glaze kiln fired to-day. (Sundry payments.)

"22nd do. In Cardiff, pd. draft at Mr. Wood's bank, £50; discount, 10/-. Gave draft to Mr. G. Wood, £50. Dated

23rd inst.—Borrowed off Mr. Coffin, £25. Pd. Mr. Williams, £25. Glaze not fired; left kiln; agree to pay.

"23rd Feby., 1821. Went to Mr. Harris; agreed to survey for him. At Mr. Coffin's this afternoon.

"24th do. Fired up the glaze; our own; good. Pd. Blacksmith, £1; T. Pole for Sundries, £3 10s. At Cardiff; sent 7 lbs. borax. (?) J. Stranges; business; 6th May, 1821. Home in the evening. Called at Mr. Samuel's.

"25th do. Sunday—at home.

"26th do. Went to Neath and Aberpergwm. Map to Mr. Gwyn. Recd. of Mr. Hallett, £5 5s. Pd. for sundries in Neath, 1/6.; pd. bill for Corner House, £1 0s. 6d.

"27th do. Returned home this morning. Settled Lewis' Acct., 17s. 6d. Paid, 7s. 6d. Paid Edward John, 5s. 0d.

"28th do. Pd. D. Perkins, 11s. 0d. Pd. M. Harry, 9s. 0d.

* * *

"2nd March, 1821. Went to Nantgarw. Mr. Pardoe and Wm. (? W. H. Pardoe) there. Tried glaze frit in the muffle.

"3rd do. At Mr. Coffin's Titt Pit and Borehole. Borehole, 82 yards. Pd. Thomas Pardoe, £2. Pd. J. Rowlands, 18s. 0d. Pd. for some stores, £1. Pd. Thos. Pole, £1 3s.

* * *

"24th May, 1821. Pd. for gold, £1 1s.

* * *

"3rd Oct., 1822. Pd. T. Pardoe, 10s. 0d. Pd. Thos. Singleton, 30s. 0d.

"4th do. To Neath with Mr. Stuart.

* * *

"17th do. Mr. Smith came this evening.

"18th do. Marquis of Bute; went with him to Dinas.

"19th Oct., 1822. At Dinas with Marquis of Bute. Returned to Neath in the evening.

* * *

"21st do. Signed Agreement. 'I. Y.'

"22nd do. At Cardiff. T. P. left for Bristol. Went to Nantgarw ; prepared Catalogue.

"22nd do. Sett (*sic*) for Hereford. Called at Nantgarw. Gave T. Pardoe £2 1s.

"23rd do. (Tuesday). At Cardiff.

"24th do. (Wednesday). At Cardiff.

"25th do. Catalogue printed.

"26th do. At Nantgarw, making arrangements for sale.

"26th do. (Friday). Pd. Morgan Rees for coal, 24s. 2d. Pd. Richard Miller (? Millward), £2. Pd. T. Singleton, £2. Pd. D. Molandre, £1.

"28th do. Sale at Nantgarw.

"29th do. Do. do.

"30th do. Pd. T. Pardoe, £2. Pd. Edwards, Jr., £1 1s.

* * *

"2nd Nov., do. Delivered a/c of Stock to T. Pardoe.

Do. Pd. T. Pardoe, £5."

(NOTE.—There is evidently a mistake as to days of the week mentioned. If Friday was the 26th Oct., then the 28th—first day of sale—was on Sunday. But, in calculating from the Dominical letter, I find that the 28th was on a Monday in October, 1822. As the 27th is not mentioned in the diary, it is probable that Mr. Young made a mistake. It is not surprising considering the anxiety he must have been in. His letter to the *Cambrian* newspaper of 19th Oct., 1822, shows the profound interest he took in the beautiful art he was fostering and sacrificing so much in order to make it successful. His righteous and artistic soul must have been touched to its depths.)

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED FOR MORTLOCK.

The methodical manner in which he kept this record is striking; and the constant movement of the man shows his energy of body and mental force.

There is another great gap in this interesting document, for the next entry found is nearly ten years afterwards. In the meantime he had been to Stoke Prior after the salt speculation and failed again. The entry is as follows:—

"4th July, 1832. Agreement and rent of cottage at Newton Nottage for £2 10s., between W. Young, land surveyor, Neath, and Lewis Williams, labourer, of Newton Nottage."

Mr. John Storrie, late Curator of Cardiff Museum, traced this cottage a few years ago, and found that the memory of this good—I might almost say great—man was still cherished in the village. He was great in more senses than one, although he was so unfortunate in a pecuniary sense. His personal presence was something grand. He was described to me by those who knew him personally, as a particularly tall, well-made, and handsome man. His physical strength was enormous For instance, Evan Thomas (Amoson), of Rhydyfelin, stated that he saw him lift the blacksmith's anvil of Nantgarw with ease; it weighed $7\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. In "Lorna Doone" the author states that every "Doone" could lift 4 cwt., and they were selected men, being tall and straight. Young would have made a splendid leader of such fellows. This reminds me that he was descended from a stock who hailed from a district not so very distant from the Doone Valley. Young was full cousin to Dr. Thomas Young, who was born at Milverton, near Taunton. He married the doctor's aunt, for Mrs. W. W. Young's father and mother were Dr. Thomas Young's grandparents, as mentioned in Arago's account of the famous doctor. Arago says that the latter passed his early years at Minehead with his grandfather, Mr. Robert Davis. Dr. Young was about two years the senior of Mr. W. W.

Young, and, no doubt, they knew each other and appreciated the massive intellect which existed in the skull of each. Dr. Young was very precocious. He could read fluently at two years of age, and at four had committed to memory a number of English authors and several Latin poems, although he did not know that language at the time. He ultimately became proficient in French, Italian, Persian, and Arabic. He discovered the true key to decipher the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta Stone. He published a number of scientific works, much esteemed at the time. When Wrwnsky claimed £20,000 from the British Government for discovering a new lunar theory, Sir Joseph Banks referred the matter to Dr. Young, by whom, he said, everything was settled at the then "Board of Longitude." This digression will be pardoned, because it throws some light on Mr. W. W. Young's family history. The latter, also, had a scientific, as well as an artistic mind. He wrote a letter to the *Cambrian* in June, 1822, pointing out how the copper-smoke at the Swansea Works could be consumed; and, on another occasion, he started a theory of driving windmills horizontally, by a new and original process. The genius of success, however, seldom seemed to smile on him. Commercially, he always failed. In 1826 he induced his friends to spend some thousands of pounds in developing the Gnoll Colliery at Neath. That speculation, also, was a non-success.

In early life he was taken prisoner by a French man-o'-war, and taken to Brest harbour. The details are worth giving, as showing not only Young's bitter experience, but also the dangers incurred by British subjects in those eventful times. The following is a summary taken from a Memorandum—now in Colonel Young's possession—by Young as to his captivity by the French.

Aug. 8th, 1794. Embarked in the American ship "Severn," bound for New York from King Road, with about thirty other

passengers. Third day, pilot left at Lundy, having to beat out of the Bristol Channel. Fifth day, off Ireland, with more favourable wind. French fleet of fifteen sail overtook them, and made them all prisoners. Taken to Brest, and transferred to "L'Orient," prison ship (harbour fourteen miles each way). Fare and lodging very bad, gentlemen, footmen, etc., all huddled together in the hold. Those with wives and children were put in a cabin. Describes the disgust of "gentlemen" who begged him to make them wooden spoons in order to eat soup. Young makes them, and writes his reflections on adversity, but which, he says, "if received with humility gives peace to the soul."

In a few days agreed with a "Captain" (a prisoner) to escape together. Divested of clothing he slipped over the side of the vessel at night, to swim a mile to an American ship. Sea was "rather rough," and lost sight of his companion. Young had put his watch, money, etc., in a stocking, and tied it about his head. After going about half a mile the bandage became heavy with water, and the waves were breaking over him. He then slipped the bandage off, but could not replace it; swam with it in his hand for some time, but the contents worked their way out and sank. "My situation," he says, "now was by no means to be envied. Far from my friends, far from my native land, without clothes, without money, darkness spread around me, and every wave threatening to overwhelm me, in the midst of enemies' ships, in danger every moment of being fired at by some of the sentinels, or picked up and re-conducted to prison by the guard-boat which passed within a little distance of me once or twice. In this strait I looked up unto God, able and willing to deliver even to the uttermost all those who put their trust in Him; for, although dangers surrounded me and darkness covered me, yet was I not forgotten of Him whose eye is over all His works, and without whose knowledge a sparrow falls not to the ground. I trusted in

Him that He would deliver me, and enable me once more to praise His glorious Name. In this confidence I was not deceived, for, after being about an hour and a quarter in the water, I came to a vessel, which I supposed to be an American."

He found, however, that she was a transport from the West Indies, with other prisoners on board, who were to be shifted, next morning, twelve miles up the harbour, near to the town of Landineau, for greater security, and for the winter. He was taken on board. An American ship lay a quarter of a mile off, and he decided to swim to her. He asked a sailor to call him early next morning, but could not get to sleep for a long time on account of the questions asked by the sailors about England, from which they had not heard for twelve months. When called he was so fast asleep that he did not attend to the sailor. Next day the vessel was removed to her station, and this put all means of escape "for the present out of my power."

The narrative stops here. The transport was evidently an English one which had been captured. He ultimately escaped in some way. In reference to the swim for liberty and the manner in which he lost his money, his friends were in the habit of saying, regarding his speculations generally, that "he always laid hold of the wrong end of the stocking."

But his land-surveying seemed to have yielded him a good deal of profit; and, on occasions, as appears by his wife's diary, he made some money out of wreck-raising on the coast of the Bristol Channel. One such agreement is extant. It runs thus:—

"MEMORANDUM:

"Swansea, 16th July, 1806.

"Agreement between William Weston Young, of Swansea, etc., etc., and Frederick J. Pigou and William Grenfell, etc., etc., for W. W. Young to raise the wreck of sloop 'Anne and

Teresa,' and cargo of copper, sunk in Bristol Channel, and commence before 25th July, instant, and use the most expeditious and effectual means.

"Salvage to be—Every ton of copper, £45; ropes and materials, 15 per cent. on proceeds.

"(Signed) W. W. YOUNG,
"J. J. PIGOU,
"W. GRENFELL.

"Witnesses:—W. GROVE,
"G. B. GRANVILLE,
"18: July, 1806."

Another work he took in hand was the erection of a tomb at Margam. A memorandum regarding it is as follows:—

"ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES ERECTING TOMB AT MARGAM.

"4 large drawings (scale) from old tomb in Margam church ...	
"4 large designs for new tomb to scale, etc.	
"Model of figure in clay	£30 0 0
"Mr. W. W. Young's time to look out stone, etc., 11 days	£11 10 0
"Other labour and for Stone, etc. ...	£127 5 7½
Total	£168 15 7½"

Note on back of account:—"This tomb was agreed for in November, 1814, and finished February, 1820. The greater part of the work was done in 1815 and 1816; many difficulties occurred in procuring the stone, and much uncertainty, for a long time, whether the figure was to be proceeded with or not."

His was a life full of romance and strivings after high ideals. Like many men of generous mind he was ahead of his time; and, as is usual in such cases, financial rewards were none of his. This is too often the penalty of real genius.

In the diary of his wife a pleasing insight is afforded of the domestic life of this good and worthy couple. The little volume was lent to me by Colonel Young. I make a few extracts for the above-named purpose; and also because of the light cast on his career by the dates given. The book is entitled:—

"CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE OF ELIZABETH YOUNG,
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. WRITTEN BY HERSELF.
London: Harvey and Darton, 1843."

The preface or note regarding her may be summarized thus:—Elizabeth Young, daughter of Robert and Hannah Davis, of Minehead, was born 7th May, 1765. Early life was passed at Minehead, except occasional visits to relatives and friends in London, Bath, and Ireland, etc. She was married, 14th April, 1795, to Wm. Weston Young, of Bristol. After residing there a "short time," removed to Neath. Except residing three years in Worcestershire, resided in Wales till five years before her decease. In her seventy-first year removed to Bristol (? 1835). In 1840, had a fall and broke her hip-joint, was confined to bed fifteen months, when she died 10th March, 1842. She was buried in the "Friends'" burial-ground at Redcliff Pit.

Her diary was commenced on the 21st March, 1791, and continued till the 3rd November, 1793, after which date there is a gap of about eight years.

It was resumed on the 8th January, 1802, and is filled with pious reflections on that date.

* * * * * * *

"2nd month, 7th, 1802. Met our dear mother Young and sister Martha at Neath."

* * * * * * *

"28th of 6th month, 1802. My husband went for Bristol yesterday. I have been, and am like a reed shaken by the wind."

* * * * * * *

"1st month, 20th, 1803. This is likely to be the last night of our abiding here (Aberdylais), my dear husband having a very suitable opening for him at Swansea on our removing to it."

* * * * * * *

"4th month, 14th, 1803. Been here (? Swansea) nine weeks. Dear husband appears to succeed well in his line of employment. Very much kindness shown to us by neighbours, etc."

* * * * * * *

"6th month, 26th (no year—? 1803.) The Sabbath. My dear husband is absent on an errand of mercy."

* * * * * * *

"4th month, 1806. My husband is going on a journey; me to accompany him; my health is improved."

* * * * * * *

"5th month, 1806. Accomplished journey to Bristol; stayed nearly six weeks; feeble in health; not been here for seven years."

* * * * * * *

"4th month, 6th, 1807. Newton Nottage. Wreck of a sloop, 'Anne and Teresa,' with cargo of copper. A year ago my husband applied to the underwriters to raise her. Others tried and failed. He saved two-thirds of the cargo, worth over £4,000. Wreck two miles off. Many astonished. Much of that kind of business here. Coast dangerous. Been here (from Swansea) about six months. Health better, but no Society of Friends or meeting house."

There are other entries regarding wreck of "Trelawney," a large West Indiaman, in the "Nass" sand, outward bound from Bristol. Vessel parted. Young and his crew saved twelve out of sixteen hands. Young was commissioned to act for the owners. On the 8th June, 1807, he was driven across the Channel in a small boat to Minehead. His wife had much anxiety about him. On the fourth day he returned, and two hours after his arrival a letter was delivered. He had written the letter at Minehead the morning after his arrival there.

* * * * * * *

"6th month, 8th, 1807. Boat races at Swansea, to see which, a boat with eleven persons went out and was capsized. Four only were saved.

"6th month, 8th, 1807. My dear husband pursues his business with stability and success. A year ago we were in low circumstances; now, though not rich, we are made stewards over more of this world's goods."

* * * * * * *

"11th month, 24th, 1807. Been for eight or nine weeks at Bristol. My dear husband met me and spent two weeks there. On return we spent three days at Olveston."

* * * * * * *

"1808. In 7th and 8th months, visited friends in Somerset (at Street, Glastonbury, and Bridgwater) . . . crossed the Channel in his own boat to and from Minehead (and Newton)."

* * * * * * *

"The return of the Sabbath is very important to me. We observe seasons of retirement for worship twice on those days. This is the second week of my husband's absence. I live here in very secluded society. We might move amongst a circle of fashionable or worldly characters; they rather court us, but we prefer retirement if we cannot select the chosen few who may be led in the simple path we are in, to whom we could impart our

feelings. I love many of the laborious poor of this place. They have often taught me lessons when, upon occasions of sickness or the like, I go to their dwellings."

* * * * * * *

"1st month, 1811. Husband returns from attending his mother (S. Young) in her last illness—died in full assurance."

* * * * * * *

"4th month (new year). Much sickness amongst neighbours. My husband has been administering in person much more than I have with them."

* * * * * * *

"1st month, 23rd, 1813. Taking my walk yesterday, going and returning four miles, to see my poor. . . . Wreck of a Portuguese vessel, with fruit, etc. Thirteen persons saved.

* * * * * * *

"Husband absent a few days; miss him, but observe our usual manner. The servant and myself sit down at the time; after a pause, a psalm and some chapters in the New Testament are read; we pause again, when the servant withdraws and leaves us to our accustomed solemnity in silence. . . . . In the morning the same manner is observed."

* * * * * * *

1814. At commencement of the year intensely cold; thermometer at four degrees. Heaviest snow for 38 years; lasted six weeks; much distress; roads piled, and communications cut off. . . . . Her husband went to Bristol, was detained there three weeks. Travelling impeded. Many accidents. His father dies. (An interval of years now occurs in the diary.)

1827. She is recommended by certificate from the Swansea Monthly Meeting to Friends at Tewkesbury.

* * * * * * *

"12th month, 1st, 1830. Fairyland, Neath. We have been settled here more than a year. The concern in Worcestershire in which my husband engaged, given up. Opening at Neath."

* * * * * * *

"3rd month, 1830. My dear husband and I have frequent conversations respecting the soul's existence in the spiritual world. He is a member of the Wesleyan Society. I am quite satisfied with it. My mind is often exercised on some subjects relating to the 'Friends' as a body, yet not to cause me to leave them."

* * * * * * *

"12 March, 1831. Have our residence in Neath; suits my husband's business. (Cholera in England.)"

* * * * * * *

"7th month, 1832. Lost two Brothers—Richard Davis in Ireland, and Thomas Davis, of Milverton."

* * * * * * *

"10th of 2nd month, 1833. The Sabbath; went to meeting; a silent one. Silent worship a mystery; to the bulk of mankind inexplicable."

* * * * * * *

"5th month, 5th, 1834. Last month husband away on business, seized with illness; supposed cholera; when returned —in a few days after—was much altered."

* * * * * * *

4th month, 17th, 1835. Records illness of both and recovery.

* * * * * * *

"3rd month, 14th, 1836. Husband at Bristol on business; been there since December, 1835." Death of her brother, John Davis, above 80 years.

* * * * * * *

PLAQUE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY WILLIAM PEGG.

"5th month, 1838. Husband and self now settled in Bristol. His employment to his satisfaction."

Death of her brother William.

* * * * * * *

"9th of 6th month, 1838. My husband on a journey."

The next four pages (being to the end) are full of pious reflections She appears to have been a good and benevolent Christian; and I trust these few extracts from her diary will be found helpful in understanding the inner, as well as the outer life of this good couple.

From the time that Young left Nantgarw, in 1822, till his death, in 1847, not much is known of his doings. We get one or two glimpses of him from his wife's diary. In 1830 they appear to have been settled some time at Neath. In December, 1835, he removed to Bristol. There, no doubt, he persuaded his friend, Mr. John Wright, the publisher of his pamphlet about Glyn Neath, to enter into another porcelain speculation. I have been favoured by Mr. Reginald J. Wright (son of the late Mr. John Wright) with the perusal of sundry letters bearing upon that speculation. The first is from Mr. W. W. Young to Mr. Apsley Pellett, regarding the project of starting at Bristol a factory whereby a porcelain, made from the Nantgarw receipt, could be supplied wholesale to such a firm as Mr. Pellett was connected with, namely, the London Pottery Company. This company seems to have been in the course of formation. Mr. Pellett had been connected with the firm of Pellett and Green, one of the firms mentioned by Mr. Dillwyn in 1817 as his London agents. Young's object seems to have been to supply them with the "biscuit' porcelain, leaving them to glaze and finish it. The price was to be £15 a ton. He says that a full dinner service weighs about 400 lbs., and a tea service 50 lbs. At that rate a dinner set would cost about £3, and a tea set about 2s. 6d. only. But it is of great

interest to preserve Mr. Young's own words, as he also comments upon the value of the Nantgarw porcelain, the state of the manufacture in the Potteries, and upon the market. The letter is as follows :—

"To Apsley Pellett, Esqr.

"Bristol, 14 : July, 1838.

"Sir,

"By a letter from my esteemed friend, W. Hawkins, Esqr., I am referred to you as connected with the London Pottery Company, respecting which I had written to him to obtain information.

"To yourself, as having been connected with the firm, Pellett and Green, I need not mention the excellence of the Nantgarw china, the high value which specimens of it bear, or the acknowledged fact that, since I declined manufacture at Nantgarw, no china produced in this country has equalled it in quality. The present state of the trade, and other circumstances, have again turned my attention to the manufacture of porcelain ; and I have formed a connection with a gentleman of this city (Mr. John Wright, of Bristol), who has, consequently, fitted up the requisite machinery, which will enable him to be in the market in a few weeks.

"The preparation of a porcelain body requires great practical skill, much room, and good machinery, involving a great sacrifice of time and capital in the fitting up. When, to the saving of all this is added the certainty of having it of uniform quality and of a make already celebrated at a moderate price, the advantages are obvious ; to which may be added the being in the market in a short time with a moderate outlay of capital.

"For ourselves, it will be important that we should feel assured of the ground upon which we tread, in supplying it to a concern that will be entirely new, and likely to create some

jealousy in the established channels of the trade. Nantgarw china is well-known by its name, and existing specimens bear much higher prices than when first manufactured; the preparation is known only to the concern with which I am connected; and, in again offering it to the porcelain manufacturers of this country, it is essential that it should be through the medium of an establishment capable of bringing it out with advantage, both as to perfection of design and make and beauty of decoration.

"In order to possess myself of the present state of trade, I spent some months last winter in the Potteries, and find the manufacturers generally quite alive to my improvement, and, though great advances have been made of late years in china-making, my specimens were obviously very superior.

"In answer to your inquiry respecting prices, I may briefly and loosely state that our price would be about £15 per ton in Bristol; and that a full dinner-service takes about 400 lbs.; a tea-service, 50 lbs., allowing for waste, loss in kilns, seconds, etc.

"I do not pretend to advise you, but my experience as a maker suggests that, in originating a concern in London, you should confine yourself to the *very best*. The Metropolis affords great advantages in prosecuting the higher branches of the manufacture; and porcelain, in its use, is so much connected with show and display, that real excellence will always command prices from the wealthy and noble. Your china branch might thus be in operation in a short time, and with much less capital.

"The making of earthenware in the best manner requires much more room and powerful machinery than china; but on these matters you have, doubtless, practical men with you; and I can only add, that any information connected with manufacturing operations I possess, shall be freely at your service. I am, etc.,

"(Signed) W. W. YOUNG."

There are five other letters, three of which are from Mr. John Lewis, of Cheltenham, to his friend, Mr. John Wright, commenting upon the speculation, as he seems to have invested some money in it. In the first he alludes to the Nantgarw china in these terms :—"The recollection of the name and quality of the Nantgarw porcelain is a proof that what is really excellent will always be valued." Further, he alludes to Mr. Wright going to the Potteries and agreeing with "Machin" for a certain weekly quantity of the "body." He concludes with "kindest regards to W. W. Young." The letter is dated 4th August, 1838. The other two from him are dated 22nd October and 3rd November, 1838, in which allusion is made to a flint mill and a biscuit kiln erected ; also, an inquiry about "china block printing," no doubt meaning the decoration by transfer process.

The two remaining letters are from Mr. Young to Mr. Wright, dated 25th June and 10th October, 1839, from Burslem. From them it would appear that casks of the dried "slip" or "body" were being sent there to be sold wholesale, and fired at various potteries. He gives some particulars as to the price of bones, which formed a constituent in the Nantgarw body ; and he says that Mr. Minton had lent him a set of moulds. All this looks as if poor Young had got "hold of the wrong end of the stocking" again. There was no life in the business evidently ; and I am informed that it only lasted for a few years. The Bristol premises were situated in Avon Street, off Victoria Street ; and Mr. John Wright's name is to be seen over the entrance to this day.

Mr. Young must have been about sixty-three years of age then ; and in eight years afterwards his busy, enterprising brain was hushed and still for ever.

Fortune is not always for the brave, the clever, and the good.

THOMAS PARDOE.

This artist was the elder of the two Pardoes who painted on china at Nantgarw. He was born at Derby—which has produced so many excellent potters—on the 3rd July, 1770, and baptized on the 2nd Sept. of that year at St. Alkmund's Church. He died at Nantgarw on the 22nd July, 1823, and was buried in Eglwysilan Churchyard. The inscription on the tombstone is as follows :—

"Sacred to the Memory of
THOMAS PARDOE,
of Nantgarw, in this parish, artist,
who died 23rd July, 1823, *
aged 53 years."

I have derived most of the information obtained regarding Thomas Pardoe from Mr. R. T. Samuel, of London, his grandson ; from the late Mr. Charles Pardoe, of Mountain Ash, his son ; and from Mr. George Ll. Pardoe, of Merthyr Vale, son of the late Charles Pardoe above-named. It appears, from their statements, that Thomas Pardoe worked at both Derby and Worcester before going to Swansea, where we find him at the age of twenty-seven years, when he was married to Mary, eldest daughter of Roger Landeg, Esq., Banker, at Swansea.

The marriage took place at that town on the 15th October, 1797, as appears by an extract obtained from the church register of St. Mary's parish. Of course, he would have been at Swansea some time before that interesting event took place. It is most likely that he worked at the Cambrian Pottery with Mr. George Haynes for a year or more previously. The issue of the marriage was a girl named Fanny, who married the Revd. Mr. Samuel. She survived to a good old age, for I find in the

* Mr. Samuel informs me the correct date was 22nd July, 1823.

Cambrian newspaper of Swansea, the following obituary notice. "On the 15th April, 1888, in London, in her 89th year, Fanny Samuel, eldest child of Thomas Pardoe, formerly of Nantgarw, near Cardiff." A second child—a son—only lived a few days, when the mother also expired. Mr. Thomas Pardoe must have held a respectable position in Swansea to be allied to the Landeg family. In perusing the family pedigree of Mr. William Thomas, of Lan, who, by the way, traces his lineage back to Rodri Mawr, King of All Wales (who died A.D. 877), I find that Mary Thomas, of Brinwilach, married John Landeg. They had two sons —Colonel Landeg, and Roger Landeg the banker. Mr. Thomas, of Lan, is celebrated as the "Welsh Pioneer of open spaces," and about whom an interesting pamphlet was published at the *Herald* office, Swansea, in 1881. Roger Landeg, I find by extract from the parish register of Newland, Gloucestershire, was married there on the 2nd October, 1766, to Elizabeth Baron. They were the parents of Thomas Pardoe's first wife. He was married secondly, to Miss Sarah Ann Allum, of Swansea, on the 8th December, 1802. William Henry Pardoe was the eldest son of this marriage, born in December, 1803, and a numerous offspring followed. Pardoe remained at Swansea till 1809, working under Mr. L. W. Dillwyn. He is said to have been a witty and humorous man, full of *bonhomie*, and probably a bit of a *bon vivant;* for, as tradition hath it, he was much in request as chairman at these social gatherings which so much characterised the inns and taverns of the early part of this century. He had a critical eye for the quality of the ware which adorned the tables at a feast; and woe to it if a "waster" should turn up. It soon went the way of all "wasters." It is probable that Pardoe painted on the "opaque china"—then made at Swansea —as well as his brother-artist Young. The two appear to have been intimate friends, for the latter frequently mentions the former

in his (Young's) diary—*e.g.*, "July, 1808, remitted cheque to T. Pardoe"; and (more significant) "17th Sep., 1814, at Margam with Beeley and Pardoe." It was, doubtless, in consequence of this attachment and respect for Pardoe that Young selected him to go to Nantgarw when Billingsley left. In 1809 Pardoe removed from Swansea to Bristol, where he became noted as a glass stainer and painter on Staffordshire ware. He had a shop at 28, Bath Street, and lived there from 1812 to 1816. Previously, *i.e.*, 1809 to 1811, he resided "under the bank"—now St. Augustine's Back. After 1816 he disappears from the Bristol Directories—which I have examined—till 1820 and 1821, when his address was Cannon Street, St. James', Bristol. He also had an address at Bath for commercial purposes. From 1816 to 1820 he dwelt at Hanham village, about three miles from Bristol. I had this information from his grandson, Mr. George Ll. Pardoe. In those days the outlying villages were not included in the Directories. In March, 1821, as it would appear from Young's diary, he joined the Nantgarw factory, where three of his sons assisted him, namely, William Henry, Thomas, and Henry. But the eldest—William Henry—was the only one of them who painted on the porcelain. As stated already, he died at Nantgarw in 1823, to which place the family had then removed. His widow afterwards removed to Caroline Street, Cardiff, where she kept a school; but subsequently went to London, where she died in 1832.

The late Mr. William Edkins, of Bristol, had a good opinion of Pardoe's ability. Edkins was a collector of china, etc. He sold one of Pardoe's plates to another collector for £5 10s.

There is a plate in Jermyn Street Museum (Bristol division), which is marked, "Pardoe, *fecit*, Bristol," and is well decorated. Mr. R. T. Samuel states that Pardoe had invented a good

porcelain receipt a short time before his death, and that it is probable his eldest son obtained it.

There has been a good deal of debate as to the merits of Pardoe as a painter on china. Some men have asserted that he was a mere imitator of Billingsley's style. Others allege the opposite. His son—the late Mr. Charles Pardoe—told me that much of his work was attributed to Billingsley, and that he had quite a style of his own. Mr. Hugh Owen gives him great praise—*vide* "Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol." Mr. Owen describes him as a man of considerable talent, and asserts that all the best work done in flowers at the Water Lane Pottery, Bristol, was achieved by Pardoe. But it must be remembered that no porcelain was made at Water Lane in Pardoe's time, and painting on earthenware is a different thing. It is difficult now to define his position; but, taking him all in all, he appears to have been an artist of very good taste and skill. His grandson, Mr. Samuel, informs me that for the peace rejoicings after Elba, in 1814, Mr. Pardoe was selected to paint many of the transparencies used to decorate Bristol. He also says that Pardoe worked at Worcester with "Beeley." If so, that would be between 1809 and 1811, when he was said to be living at Bristol. Of course it was quite possible for him to make working trips to other places if he had not enough to do at home; but this question is a doubtful one.

With regard to the alleged difference of talent in the two men, it is interesting to have the testimony of my friend Mr. Drane. He wrote to me some years ago these words:—"There certainly is a marked similarity in Thomas Pardoe's painting and that of Billingsley as to style; but the artistic merits and quality of work are of very different rank. I have two pieces, signed 'Pardoe, Bristol,' very well painted."

A sketch-book of Thomas Pardoe's is in the possession of J. L. Wheatley, Esq., Town Clerk, Cardiff. I have been permitted to inspect it. I found the following remarks are recorded thereon. First, by Edward Seward, Esq., Architect, Cardiff :—

The book is a very interesting relic of the Nantgarw china-painter, Thomas Pardoe. Like most drawing-books and unsystematic note-books, it has a beginning at both ends, with a blank page or two near the middle, where the extremes meet. The long, narrow proportion ($14\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches) is convenient in a handy book, which was evidently used under all sorts of conditions. According to a bookseller's ticket pasted inside the cover, it was "made and sold by John Evans, stationer, bookseller, binder, and printer, Wind Street, Swansea," and it consists of twenty-nine leaves of Whatman's drawing-paper, of the same thickness as that in ordinary use at present, and with a similar *nolt* surface on each side. Six of these leaves bear the water-mark—"J. Whatman, 1804."

Written in italics near the bookseller's ticket, but with no date, is the name—"*T. Pardoe, Glass Stainer, Bath St., Bristol.*"

Parts of the contents are devoted to the kind of use that might have been expected from the above-named trade of a glass stainer. Eight pages contain designs for stained-glass windows. One or two of these are mere outlines in pencil, but several are coloured with some nicety. The designs comprise armorial bearings, and there is, here and there, an introduction of the Gothic interlacing lines, combined with classic pateræ, royal crowns, Prince of Wales' feathers, etc., in the poor taste of the first decade of this century. The *locale* of these designs is indicated, for instance—Mr. Hobbs, Milk Street, Beaufort Square; Church of St. Michael, Bristol; G. Jones, Esq., Cotham;

Sir H. Protheroe, etc. At the end of the book are two pages showing detail designs of a similar character, apparently borders for stained-glass windows and fanlights; and, including the Grecian fret, the Greek honeysuckle treated in a Guilloche form; running ornament combining the oak-leaf and acorn, the convolvulus and the acanthus of the period. The other page has a large detail of a cusped diaper in lozenges, with, on a ribbon, TYME TRYETH TROTH.

The chief interest will, however, be found in the drawings of birds, fruit, and flowers. Of the latter, ten are in outline; but in composition and arrangement they at once suggest the class of subject so frequently painted on china—Swansea, Nantgarw, and Derby, etc.—at about this period. Two other little bouquets are coloured, and the resemblance is much helped thereby. The drawings of birds are fully and delicately coloured; and all, apparently, copied from some good natural history book. One, on the front page, is called "The Spotted Woodpecker"; the two on the following leaf being really beautiful in drawing and colour, especially the head of the "Rough-legged Falcon," though it hardly follows Nature in respect of colour. Following these drawings are several, etched in pencil, of rustic figures. These may well have been taken from some drawing copies, such as those used by John Craig, Francis Stevens, and others. Some further pages appear to be copies in outline of pictures; two or three, for instance, are reminders of the composition of Paul Sandby; another of Nicholas Berghem; and another of William Vandervelde, the sea-painter. Others are sketches of landscapes, or of gentlemen's country seats, among the latter being that of — Massy, Esq., Arnos Vale; another at Westbury; — Jones, Esq., Arnos Vale, near Bristol; Harford's Lodge, etc. On the inside of the front cover a few notes of dimensions are jotted down; and adjoining, "Lord Summers" (? Somers), near Malvern, an allusion

Dish (half size) painted by Billingsley.

to the owner of Eastnor Castle, of which the medallion view in water colour, of a castle in a park, with a background of hills—on the third leaf from the end—may be a delineation. Written on the further end of the cover is a short list, apparently an order for certain articles in china, or for painting the same. It reads :—

10 { 1—One bottle for tea set.
5—Bottles for ornmts. 1 of wine.
2— do. for large do. 1 of do.
2—100 walnuts and apples.

Placed within the drawing book are five small sheets, each of which, with two exceptions, has the name and date—T. Pardoe, 1823, written in the lower corners. Two of these are enclosed in an oval margin, and are probably copies of the quaint mezzotints published about the year named. The one is in Indian ink or lamp-black, and the subject shows a sailor smoking and striding towards a tripod table with round top, on which stand a jug, a glass, and a card. Behind him, an inn bears the sign, "Welcome to Town," and from which floats the Union Jack. A trunk stands against the wall, labelled "Dollars," on which is seated a monkey playing a fiddle, and a cask lies at hand, labelled "Brandy." In the distance is the sea and a three-masted ship, and the inscription below all is "The Fortune of War." The other subject has the same inscription and oval border, but it is in pencil only. The sailor here is shown with a wooden leg, one arm lost, and his hat held out in the other for charity. The inn in the background is called the "Bird in Hand," and a board nailed against it is inscribed "To all Vagrants."

A third drawing, most delicately drawn and coloured, shows a flower, a bird, and a leaf of the passion-flower. A fourth has four exquisite little flower sprays—a tulip, an auricula, and two slips of convolvulus and a butterfly. Each is of the identical kind so often seen on painted china. This is signed "W. H. Pardoe."

The fifth sheet merely contains pencilled sketches of a butterfly and three small birds, one of which—a kingfisher—is finished in colour.

Secondly, by Robert Drane, Esq., of Queen Street, Cardiff, the well-known connoisseur in porcelain, as follows :—

The chief interest centres in the tulip, auricula, convolvulus and butterfly in colours, as enabling the collector, by their style, to identify certain pieces of Nantgarw as decorated by this same painter—and, therefore, genuine in its proper sense ; for so much of the Nantgarw china was sold in the white, and decorated in London and elsewhere, that much more of this is in the market than that which was finished at Nantgarw. Any means, therefore, by which the genuine pieces can be distinguished with certainty from the multitude of the half spurious is very valuable. The finding of this sheet enables us to add another name to the list of painters engaged at Nantgarw, and it affords us a standard of his style, quality, and mannerism, which is essentially different from those of the artists whose excellence contributes so much to the fame and value of the genuine specimens.

The above remarks, which were made in the year 1891, are very valuable as coming from gentlemen who, from their own peculiar studies, are well able to form a just opinion on the merit of the sketches, etc.

At Derby I was unable to trace him as a painter on china. In the sketch-book he records his name and profession as a glass stainer ; but in the Bristol Directories he is described as a china-painter and glass stainer. I have conversed with the grand-daughter of Evan Evans, china-painter, Swansea, who was told by W. H. Pardoe that his father—Thos. Pardoe—taught her grandfather how to paint on the ware at Swansea. He seems to have developed into a painter on the

"opaque china" at Swansea, and a glass stainer at Bristol. There was no scope for the latter trade at Swansea; for the former there was. There was a field for the latter at Bristol, and hence he rose to the occasion. I have personally visited a number of the addresses given in the sketch-book, including St. Michael's Church, but cannot find any record or trace of stained-glass windows by him. As he left Swansea in 1809, *i.e.*, *before* any porcelain was produced at Swansea, it looks as if he had done no china painting till he got to Bristol. There, according to Hugh Owen, he did the best work on flowers at the Water Lane Pottery; but that was on earthenware only. He, however, decorated Staffordshire or other porcelain imported "in the white," as evidenced by illustrations given herein. But that work was on a hard, opaque body. His best work would be done at Nantgarw, where he had a fine, translucent body to deal with; but the quantity turned out could not be much, because he was only about two years there, and had to superintend the potting and other business as well. That fact may account for the small quantity of Nantgarw porcelain decorated by Pardoe, or, rather, attributed to him.

WILLIAM HENRY PARDOE.

This artist and potter was associated, mainly, with Nantgarw. Particulars regarding him have been obtained by personal interviews with his widow, and from other sources. It appears that he was the elder child of Thomas Pardoe's second marriage, which took place at Swansea in December, 1802. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Ann Allum. His father worked at Swansea Pottery with Haynes and Dillwyn till 1809, when he went to Bristol. W. H. Pardoe was born at Swansea on the 8th December, 1803. He would be only five years old when

the family removed to Bristol. There he would be educated; and when but a youth assisted his father in painting on china and in the work of glass staining. It is supposed that he came to Nantgarw with his father to join Young at the pottery about the year 1821, when only eighteen years old. The pot-works there were sold up in 1822, and dismantled. W. H. Pardoe afterwards went to Neath and started a muffle at that place. His productions at Neath were scattered over the county. Girls were supplied with his ware—which was gaudily decorated—and it was sold at Merthyr, and amongst the neighbouring populations. His place was situated on the site of Mr. Pendrell Charles' ironmongery shop. Pardoe got much of his ware, in the white, from Swansea, and decorated it himself. Not succeeding very well, he removed to Cardiff in 1826, where he had a "muffle" on the site of the present buildings occupied by the *Western Mail* offices, St. Mary Street; and afterwards removed to another site on the east side of High Street, near the entrance of St. John's Arcade. There he painted "white" ware, and also made pipes. He was married in 1826 to Miss Jones, who survived him, and was interviewed by the writer some years ago. In 1833 Pardoe re-opened the Nantgarw Works, where he made tobacco-pipes, "Rockingham" ware, etc. The clay was procured from Teignmouth. He never made porcelain by himself. A year or two after going to Nantgarw—according to his widow—the late Marquis of Bute called at the works and offered him £1,000 to start the porcelain manufacture again. This handsome offer was declined with regret and with thanks, probably in remembrance of the failure of the former attempts to make it pay. It is reasonable to suppose that he knew all about the "receipts," for his father had one, it is said, both for the "frit" body and the glaze. Doubtless he would find them with his progenitor's papers. Jewitt says of him, that he was "a painter of great skill and a

practical potter." No doubt this is true to a large extent, but he has not the credit of being equal to his father in ability as an artist. He is said to have produced an excellent stone-ware at Nantgarw.

He died at Nantgarw in 1867, and was buried in the churchyard at Eglwysilan, which is romantically situated on the spur of Mynydd Maio—a hill about two miles to the north of the village where he lived and died. His tombstone, which I have seen, bears the following inscription :—

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
WM. HENRY PARDOE,
OF NANTGARW,
WHO DIED FEB. 1 : 1867,
AGED 64 YEARS.

ALSO
GEORGE,
SON OF THE SAID W. H. PARDOE,
WHO DIED JULY 5 : 1881,
AGED 39 YEARS."

Mr. W. H. Pardoe was very much respected and admired by those persons who knew and remembered him. Some humorous stories are told of his doings, which indicate that he had, in addition to other considerable talent, a certain amount of native wit and humour. One of these tales was related to me by a farmer (now also, alas! gone to his rest) who, when a boy, admired Pardoe and was a favourite with him. The anecdote was this. On a certain occasion when

"It was merry in the hall,
And beards wagg'd all,"

Pardoe wished to impress the rustics with the wonderful powers of this favourite boy-acquaintance. The said boy was to be placed under a table, and when a coin was tossed he was to call out whether it descended "head or tail." To the astonishment of the company the young conjurer was invariably correct in his

guessing. The explanation, of course, was not given at the time, and his fame "grew big." The trick was a simple one. Pardoe sat at the end of the table; when his right leg was raised (immediately after the descent of the coin) the "marvellous boy" shouted out "head"; and when the left one went up, "tail" was the ready response. Nothing could be more effective.

The descendants of Mr. Pardoe still carry on the pot-works, but the ware is limited to teapots, brown jars, tobacco pipes, and such like inferior productions; although, of their kind, they are esteemed for their good quality. But the glory of the porcelain days has long departed, and apparently for ever. They are now only a memory and a name.

THOMAS BAXTER.

This artist was born on the 18th February, 1782, probably in London. He died at Worcester on the 18th April, 1821, at the early age of thirty-nine years. His grandfather, it appears, had a workshop for painting and gilding at No. 1, Goldsmith Street, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London. There the artist under notice had his early training. He must have distinguished himself at a youthful age, for he was patronised by the great hero, Lord Nelson, who engaged him to make sketches at his estate of Merton, in Surrey. In Nelson's biography we find that he bought Merton soon after the Treaty of Amiens was signed. That was on the 25th March, 1802. He remained there with the Hamiltons till war was again declared, namely, on the 17th May, 1803. Nelson then took command of the Mediterranean fleet, and chased the enemy to the West Indies and back again. In August, 1805, he landed, and stayed at Merton for about a month. In September of that year he joined the "Victory" again, and on the 21st October following he was

slain at Trafalgar. It was, therefore, probable that Baxter was at Merton some time between March, 1802, and May, 1803. He would then be only twenty years old. I cannot trace him subsequently till the year 1814, when he was at Worcester. There he opened a school of art and taught for two years, when he joined Mr. Dillwyn's staff at Swansea. In 1819 he went back to Worcester, and was employed at the porcelain works there till his death, in 1821. These latter facts are recorded by Binns, Haslem, Chaffers, and Marryat. Jewitt describes him as a figure painter. In Mr. Gamwell's "Guide to Swansea" there is an interesting notice of him, which runs thus:—"Thomas Baxter, born 18th February, 1782, was a man of original genius, mild and playful in manners, and of strict integrity of principle. He published some exquisite studies of Greek costumes, etc., but meeting no encouragement, he became a china-painter at Swansea potteries. He published, in 1818, six views of Swansea and the neighbourhood. Later on he painted on china at Worcester, and died there 18th April, 1821." Substantially, no doubt, this is correct; but it is probable that he was a painter on china in the first place. Mr. Binns, in his carefully-prepared work—"A Century of Potting at Worcester"—makes this point clear. Mr. Binns had his information at first hand, and from no less an authority than Baxter's son, Mr. Thomas Baxter, F.G.S., as the following extract from Mr. Binns' excellent monograph will show. It is somewhat in the following terms:—Baxter was the most accomplished artist who painted on Worcester porcelain in the first half of this century. It was his early training, added to a naturally artistic mind, which enabled him to take that high position which is assigned to him. His grandfather, as already stated, had a workshop in Fleet Street, London—a locality connected in business with Worcester from an early date. It was usual for Mr. Baxter (senior) to obtain white porcelain from

France, Staffordshire, and elsewhere, and decorate it for the London dealers.* Young Baxter assisted, and was patronised by Lord Nelson, who frequently employed him in making sketches at Merton. He painted a rich dessert service for his lordship. Many of the celebrated subjects painted at the time by Sir Joshua Reynolds, West, and others, were introduced by him on plaques of porcelain. Some are now in his son's possession, namely, "Thetis and Achilles," after West; "Boy and Cabbage nets," and "Puck," after Reynolds. He was also engaged by a noted connoisseur to copy some of the remarkable works in his collection. That gentleman was of opinion that there was no decorative art in England. He showed Baxter a piece of porcelain from Paris, and asked if it could be imitated in this country. To his great surprise the answer was that he (Baxter) had painted it himself. This fact will show the superior character of the artist's work. The effect of his teaching is evident in Flight & Barr's ornamental productions at Worcester, where Baxter started a school of art in 1814. It endured till 1816, and some of his pupils distinguished themselves in connection with the arts and manufactures of the city. Amongst others were Doe, Astle, Webster, Pitman, Lowe, and S. Cole. He went to Dillwyn's at Swansea in 1816, where he continued for three years. Amongst his special works painted at Swansea was the "Shakespeare Cup," now in the possession of his son; and a dessert service of garden scenery in a style peculiar to himself. He returned to Worcester in 1819, and joined Messrs. Flight & Barr again. Subsequently he removed to the service of Messrs. Chamberlain, of Worcester. The handle of a well-known vase, formed by horses' heads, was modelled by Baxter. During his residence with Messrs. Chamberlain, it is believed

* Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, has a piece of Worcester porcelain painted by and signed "T. Baxter, 1802."

that his principal works were "services." The last one on which he was engaged was a service decorated with fruit, of which a specimen is in the Worcester cabinet. The Shakespeare cup or goblet mentioned, was turned by Baxter himself. The form of the stem has the outline of the great dramatist's face in profile. The cup is adorned both in its inner and outer sides with subjects from the plays of Shakespeare.

I find by an advertisement in the *Cambrian* newspaper, dated 30th May, 1818, the following: "Just published, price 10s. 6d., six views in and near Swansea, by T. Baxter, portrait painter, and may be had at his house in Goat Street, or of T. Jenkins and Miss Oakey. Portraits drawn from one guinea upwards: Miniatures drawn from three guineas upwards."

This fixes a date for his residence at Swansea.

The dessert service mentioned in the trial case, "Roby and others *v.* Dillwyn," in 1821, as painted by Baxter for Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, is now in the possession of his descendant —Sir John Talbot Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart., of Penllergare Park, near Swansea. By the great kindness of Sir John, I am enabled to reproduce a specimen in this book of this celebrated service. It has a mannerism that is most distinct and peculiar.

Another interesting piece, illustrated in plain collotype, is the Cupid in a goblet. The subject was evidently suggested by Anacreon's ode, No. 6 in Moore's translation, as follows:—

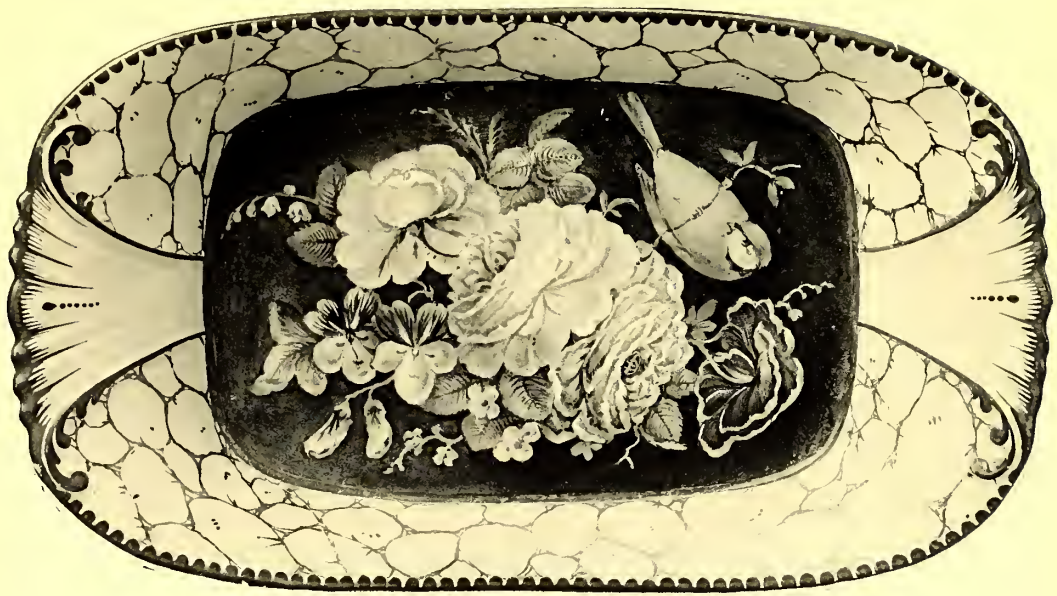
"As late I sought the spangled bowers,
To cull a wreath of matin flowers,
Where many an early rose was weeping,
I found the urchin Cupid sleeping.
I caught the boy; a goblet's tide
Was richly mantling by my side;
I caught him by his downy wing,
And whelm'd him in the racy spring.
Oh! then I drank the poison'd bowl,
And Love now nestles in my soul.
Yes, yes, my soul is Cupid's nest,
I feel him fluttering in my breast."

This shows that Baxter was a student of the classics.

A third piece by him, illustrated in colours, is the "Jubal" cup, which perhaps shows him at his best—for he was essentially a figure painter. The last two pieces are in the collection of Graham Vivian, Esq., Clyne Castle, Swansea, who has kindly permitted their reproduction here.

HENRY MORRIS.

THIS artist was born at Swansea in 1797, and died there in or about 1881. He was apprenticed to Mr. L. W. Dillwyn to serve at the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea, previously to Billingsley's arrival; but was instructed by him in the art of painting on china. Mr. Morris (his relatives state) always spoke of "Beeley" with great respect, and described him as one of the best of men—kind and gentlemanly, and a "great artist." It was the latter's practice (Morris said) when in the printing room, to stand with his back to the fire-place, with his hands behind him, and lecture to the apprentices on the *modus operandi* of their art. Morris imitated "Beeley's" style as closely as he could; so successful was he in this that his work was sometimes mistaken for that of the master. Morris was pleased, in the latest days of his life, to relate such a circumstance, for he considered it the highest compliment that could be paid to him to have his work mistaken for that of his teacher. Mr. Morris served his term of apprenticeship faithfully, but did not remain always at Swansea. He subsequently worked in London, also at Burslem and other Staffordshire potteries, returning to his native place, where he built a small kiln of his own in Pleasant Street. He imported a large quantity of Copeland's china in the white, painted and fired it for sale. In his old age, when unable to go out of doors, he would often pass the time in indulging in his old art of painting white Copeland ware. This continued till he became blind, about the year 1875.



DISH (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

It was a sad deprivation to him, who was a lover of all that was beautiful in Nature or in Art. Such was his love of flowers, if anyone happened to speak of them in his presence and after his sight had failed him, he would say that, to see them again, he would give all he possessed. He also painted on canvas, and several of his "oils" are still in the possession of his descendants. He had a fair knowledge of music, and was a good singer. His love of Art, in all its charming phases, was innate, and therefore spontaneous. He realized Tennyson's fine conception of the true artist :

> "The Artist, sir, should dwell in Art,
> And waive a little of his claim.
> To have the true poetic heart
> Is more than all poetic fame."

Mr. Morris is described by those who knew him personally as being shrewd and observant of all things about him ; and was not at all vain of his acquirements, but had the noble pride of self-respect. He was said to be independent in thought, straightforward in his dealings, and outspoken in expressing the honesty of his sentiments. He was rather short in stature, being about five feet six inches high, but was well-proportioned in his physical build. He had a fair complexion, and rather long features. On his mother's side he was of French extraction, and on that of his father, was Pembroke-Welsh, if I may be allowed to coin a new ethnological term. He left some artistic relics, consisting of a book of receipts for various glazes, etc. ; another book containing specimens of flower-painting, etc. ; and some unfinished pieces of porcelain—mostly "Copeland." His "Prentice plate" is also to the fore. It was painted under the superintendence of Billingsley. Its decoration consists of the figure of a nymph, with two angelic forms in attendance, and the similitude of a dove flying towards the nymph, bearing an olive branch in its bill. His productions appear to have been highly esteemed. The late Lord Swansea

offered ten pounds for a single plate decorated by Morris and bearing his sign-manual. This was a proof that he had taken kindly to the teachings of his talented instructor. Another incident which he was fond of rehearsing also goes to prove the excellence of the work of the Swansea men of that period. It was this. Mr. Dillwyn received from London a specimen bowl made at the factory at Sèvres, in France, and an order for a dozen of similar ones, with the request that the pattern bowl should be imitated closely. The order was complied with, when a letter came asking that the original one should be returned. It was explained that it was amongst the others; but the London dealer could not at first distinguish it from the others. Morris, I presume, had assisted in this particular production. The incident serves to indicate the excellence to which the "Cambrian" Pot-works had reached, of which Swansea people may well be proud to this day, as well as of Henry Morris—one of the leading artists thereof, and a native of the place.

He was the last of those clever men who painted on Swansea china, *vide* his statement to Col. Grant Francis, given *in extenso* in this volume ("Swansea" section). He was, also, I believe, the last of the Swansea china-painters to pass away from this earthly scene.

In conversing with friends about the porcelain works and the artists, etc., he mentioned incidentally such names as Beeley (called Bailey), Baxter, a French artist, Pardoe, Colclough (called Cowkler), Thomas, Pollard, Williams, Beddow, Evans, Walker (the potter), the Bevingtons, and the Dillwyns.

WILLIAM POLLARD.

William Pollard is one of the best known of the artists who painted on the old Swansea china. At least, that is true

so far as Swansea people are concerned. In other towns and art circles, it may be, his peculiar kind of mannerism of decoration is assigned to "Bevington." But in Swansea there is not so much fear of such an error amongst those persons, at all events, who have a taste for and have made even a slight study of the points characteristic of that real rarity—a first-class piece of Swansea porcelain and painting.

Pollard was born at Landore, near Swansea, on the 8th September, 1803. His father's name was Joseph Pollard—a highly respected member of the Society of Friends. He was one of their ministers, and held very strict views. For instance, when offered an increase of salary at the works where he was employed, he declined on the ground of having quite sufficient for his own and his family's wants. As soon as William grew up he was placed in a solicitor's office, but such was his precocious propensity for drawing, that he covered even the parchments with sketches. His employer recommended him to go to a drawing master, which was evidently what he was intended for by nature. He appears to have then received lessons from the artists at the pottery. He benefited so much by their instruction that he, perhaps, surpassed them in one phase of his cult, that is, the painting of the wild rose, which is locally called the Burrows rose. It is also called the Burnet rose. In that he excelled. There is one little plate, which the writer has seen, with a festoon of these flowers round the bevel, in which they seem to look and wink at you. They revel, as it were, in their existence. They are in all different positions towards each other, like a lot of children just let out of school, who form a ring, and twist into all relative postures. This is really the highest reach or effort of Art, to rivet the æsthetic taste, to chain the fancy, to afford an intense pleasure to the higher instincts, developing into a kind of worship of all that is lovely and beautiful in Nature.

Pollard could do this with the wild flower, and no other man could ever surpass him. And it is singular that his employer (Bevington) largely got the credit of his work. But it has often been the case with other artists, and even is so at the present day. In 1824 the make of china ceased in Swansea, and the artists had to seek a living elsewhere than at the pottery. Some of them went off to Staffordshire—the great gathering ground for the English potter and his congeners. But large quantities of china "in the white" were left when the pottery at Swansea lapsed, by lapse of lease, into Mr. Dillwyn's hands again from the possession of the Bevingtons. They retained this white china and erected two muffles, and had it painted, fired, and sold. The probability is that one of the chief painters on that remnant was Pollard, for his work is to be found in larger quantity, in and about Swansea, than that of any other man's.

He appears to have opened a shop in the Castle Bailey Street at Swansea, and sold porcelain goods. Doubtless much of it was obtained "in the white" from Staffordshire, and painted and fired by him in the same way as his brother artist, Morris, did. He seems to have succeeded, commercially, better than the majority of the artistic men. They are often impecunious. I judge so because his son became a manufacturing chemist at Landore. He could hardly have gained such a position if his father had been unsuccessful in business.

Pollard died comparatively young, aged fifty-one. He was on a visit to Mrs. John (his sister), at Burnham, Somerset, when he was taken ill and died suddenly. By the kind favour of the Rev. Prebendary Dupuis, of the Vicarage, Burnham, I have received a copy of the inscription on our artist's tomb, which is in the burial-ground of the Parish Church there. It is as follows :

"Wm. Pollard,
died 11th 8th month, 1854.
Aged 51."

He does not appear to have followed his father in becoming a member of the Society of Friends. His sister, at whose house he died, was one, and that may account for the peculiar way the inscription appears on the tomb.

As regards his art and his love of it, he early manifested his natural inclination, and it is said of him that he was often about the rural districts gathering the wild flowers and studying them. He had two styles—one in garden flowers and one with his favourite, the wild flower. It was with the latter he succeeded best. It is said, by some experts, he had a third style; but I am not certain on that point. Certainly I have seen a very fine dessert-service painted by him so recently as 1851. It is Mr. Clothier's, of Street, Somerset. The decoration is of garden flowers mainly; but those in the centre of the plates, etc., are of a larger and bolder type than those on the bevel. They look as if done by two different men; but, notwithstanding, may have been all his work, for all ceramic artists were obliged to cultivate different modes of treatment of their subjects.

Pollard would be only fourteen years old when "Beeley" left Swansea, so it is unlikely that he got much, if any, instruction from him. There were others, Baxter, Beddow, and Evans, who were most likely the men to instruct and inspire him. Be that as it may, he has left his mark on Swansea china, and may be said to have formed a style and mannerism thereon which is peculiarly his own.

Specimens of his work are illustrated in this volume.

THOMAS ROTHWELL.

Rothwell was decorator at the "Cambrian" Pottery, Swansea, and was employed by George Haynes; and, perhaps, also when the management of the firm was under Coles and Haynes. He

lived in "The Strand," as appears, according to Mr. Jewitt, by the application of Charles Stevens to the Derby Pottery in 1790, for employment. Stevens gave his address as at Mr. Rothwell's, The Strand, Swansea, or at the "Cambrian" Pottery, Swansea. Stevens was a thrower at the "Cambrian," and had been apprentice with Mr. Taylor at Worcester. Rothwell is mentioned in "The Dictionary of Engravers, etc.," by M. Bryan (London, 1889), as having been born in 1742, and that he was an obscure engraver. He is also recorded in "The Dictionary of Artists, etc., of the British School," by S. Redgrave (London, 1878), as an engraver of good repute in the profession, and that he died at Birmingham on the 16th January, 1807, aged sixty-five years. He was not only an engraver, but he was an artist as well, as appears by several engravings of his own sketches extant at the present day. The following is a list of several now in the possession of Col. Morgan, of Swansea. They are moulded on plaques, or slabs, of plaster of Paris:—

No. 1.—"Port and Bay of Swansea." Drawn and engraved by Thomas Rothwell, Swansea, and published as the Act directs, 25th March, 1792. Size—Plaque, 11 by 9 inches; print, 10 by 8 inches, of oval form.

No. 2.—"South-east View of Clas Mont; the Seat of R. Morris, Esq." Drawn and engraved by Thomas Rothwell, Swansea, and published as the Act directs, 25th July, 1792. Form and size are the same as No. 1.

No. 3.—"Penrice Castle"; a seat of J. M. Talbot, Esq. Drawn and engraved by Thomas Rothwell, Swansea. Form and size the same as Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 4.—"North-east View of the Town of Swansea." Published according to Act of Parliament, by Thomas Rothwell, Swansea.

No. 5.—"Sketty Hall"; seat of R. Sheldon, Esq. Published according to Act of Parliament, by T. Rothwell, Swansea,

26th March, 1792. Plaque, 8 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; print, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, oval form.

No. 6.—"Briton Ferry, near Neath"; a seat of Lord Vernon. Drawn and engraved by Thomas Rothwell, Swansea, 19th January, 1792.

Similar engravings (not on plaques) to Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 are in the Royal Institution at Swansea. There is also a sketch—which is supposed to be by Rothwell—of the old "Cambrian" Pottery; and Mr. Johnson, gilder, Swansea, has a plaque of the same, marked as published by Coles and Haynes in 1791. He has, also, the plaque of Clas Mont, the same as No. 2 of Col. Morgan's collection. If Rothwell drew the "Old Pottery" sketch, he must have been at Swansea in 1791. It is clear that he was there in 1790, as seen by Stevens' application to Derby. He was there in 1792, as seen by the dates on the "plaques" enumerated above. He was probably also there in 1795, as appears by an engraving of "Swansea" by him (after Turner) inserted in *The Pocket Magazine*, September, 1795. This is extremely interesting. Thornbury, in his life of the great artist, says Turner visited Wales in the years 1792-3-4 and 5; probably also in 1798. He was employed by Harrison, who published *The Pocket Magazine* (1794-7), to make drawings and sketches for it. He certainly was at Swansea, for in the National Gallery, London, are two rough sketches of "The Copperworks, Swansea," and "The Fire Engine, Glasemount" (no doubt meaning Clas Mont). He very likely met Rothwell at Swansea, for the latter has engraved three of his drawings for *The Pocket Magazine*, namely, "Swansea," "Windsor," and "Worcester." There is a tradition existing at Swansea that Rothwell engraved Turner's sketch of that place first. This is partly confirmed by the fact that "Swansea" appeared in September, 1795, and "Windsor" in October, 1795

The date of the publication of "Worcester" is not yet traced. Of course the order of publication is not proof of the order of production of the engravings. But, coupled with the tradition, it is very probable indeed that "Swansea" was the first in order. That having been done satisfactorily, in all likelihood the publisher authorised the others to be done by Rothwell. In Gamwell's "Guide to Swansea," published in 1880, it is stated, on the authority of Mr. Deffet Francis, that "Swansea" was the first engraving (after Turner) by Rothwell. It would be doubly interesting to know if any of the Turner sketches were transferred to the "opaque china" produced at the "Cambrian" Pottery by George Haynes about that time. This is likely enough; but up to the time of writing, no proof of such a fact has been obtained. In Cosmo Monkhouse's clever monograph of Turner, it is stated that, in his tours of Wales and Monmouthshire, he sketched many places and scenes, such as Llandaff, Chepstow, The Devil's Bridge, Cardiganshire, etc., etc. Hence, as Rothwell had got to know him, it is very probable that some of the great man's sketches may have been imprinted on the Swansea ware, the beauty of which is so rapturously commented on by Mrs. Thrale in a letter (given elsewhere) to Sir James Fellowes about the time Rothwell died, and about ten years after Turner's last visit to Wales. This ware was, doubtless, the "opaque china" invented by Haynes. In vol. xxxi. of Pamphlets, now in the Royal Institution, Swansea, at page 8, it is stated that "opaque china"—a superior kind of earthenware—was introduced by George Haynes in 1790. It was Young, however, who made it celebrated by his superior style of painting and decoration, after 1802. But it is a moot point whether Rothwell was not the first artist to render it popular in the public estimation, by his engraving skill and superior workmanship.

SUMMARY NOTES REGARDING OTHER PERSONS

WHO HAVE BEEN
CONNECTED WITH THE SWANSEA OR NANTGARW POT-WORKS;
SO FAR AS I HAVE BEEN ENABLED TO GET INFORMATION.
THEIR NAMES, ETC., ARE AS FOLLOWS:—

GEORGE HAYNES. He became partner with Mr. Coles about the year 1790 in the old "Cambrian" Pottery, at Swansea. He soon acquired the whole of the works; and shortly after invented the so-called "opaque china." In 1802, he sold the "Cambrian" Factory to Mr. Dillwyn, but continued there as manager up to the year 1810. He became a banker, and was concerned with others in founding the "Glamorgan" Pottery —a rival to the "Cambrian."

GEORGE HAYNES, JUN., is only known to us in connection with the trial between Bevington and others *versus* Dillwyn, at Cardiff, in 1821. Mr. Haynes was one of the pleaders against Mr. L. W. Dillwyn. He and his father appear also to have been engaged as bankers at Swansea about the period named.

TIMOTHY BEVINGTON was employed at the Cambrian Pottery under Mr. Dillwyn, following Mr. Haynes, senior, as manager, in 1810. He appears to have been part proprietor at one time as well. In the Bill and Answer regarding the trial in 1821, he is described as possessed of two-tenths of the works. He died in 1839, aged seventy-seven years.

JOHN BEVINGTON, son of the aforementioned, was associated in the management of the Cambrian Pot-works, after Mr. Haynes left. He was mostly employed as a commercial traveller for the firm. But, in 1817, he, with Mr. Roby and Young Haynes, bought the principal part of the works; and he was one of the number who brought the action against Mr. Dillwyn in 1821.

Previous to 1817 his father had acquired a share in the factory, and it would seem that the son (John) had also an interest therein at that early period, because a "copper token," now in the museum at Swansea, has this legend thereon: "Payable at the Cambrian Potteries, Swansea: L. W. Dillwyn, T. Bevington, and J. Bevington."

John Coles was proprietor of the Cambrian Pottery before Haynes acquired it. He advertised the sale of it so early as February, 1783. He employed Haynes for some time before the sale of it to the latter, in 1890. Mr. Coles had an iron stores at Gloucester as well, and probably went there to reside altogether when he sold the Swansea Pottery. He was probably the son and heir of William Coles who leased the site in 1764, and built the "Cambrian" Pottery.

Reed, modeller, Swansea.
Hood, do. do.
Jenny, gold tracer, do.

These men are mentioned by Jewitt in his "Ceramic Art of Great Britain." It would be in the porcelain period when they worked at Swansea; that is, from 1814 to 1824, or so. Hood I suppose to be Isaac Wood, and Jenny the Frenchman —De Iunic. Reed I cannot trace. But for further particulars see "Swansea" section.

John Latham, artist at Nantgarw. Mr. Randall, of Madeley, writes: "I knew him very well, and was on terms of intimacy for many years. He was my wife's uncle; and was a very pretty painter of flowers and birds. I think he copied Billingsley in the former. His niece, who was in our house, on a visit, when you were here, has a service he painted for her." Mrs. Langford, of Paradise, Ironbridge (the niece mentioned), showed me a dessert-service painted for her as a marriage gift, in 1858, by her uncle. A specimen of it is reproduced in this work.

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

It must be remembered that it was painted about forty years after he left Nantgarw. She also produced a door-knob painted by him in the French style. He and his wife spoke of Nantgarw, and that he left owing to the removals effected by Mr. Rose, of Coalport, where Latham worked for years, and also at Worcester. He erected a kiln at Ironbridge, and had it for about twenty years, where he painted and fired the ware brought from Coalport in the white. He died in 1863 or 1864, aged about seventy years.

Lavinia Billingsley, artist, Nantgarw. The late Dr. Price, of Llantrissant, stated that she painted on porcelain at Nantgarw. She accompanied her father and sister in their pilgrimage to Swansea in 1808, and thence to Worcester, where she worked at the pottery for three years. In 1811 she went to Nantgarw with the others; then to Swansea in 1814, and back to Nantgarw in 1817, where she died in September of that year, at the early age of twenty-one years.

Sarah Walker, the eldest daughter of Billingsley. She was a transferrer (?) at Worcester, and probably did the same work at Swansea, where she died in January, 1817, aged thirty-one years.* She went the same round as her sister with their father, to whom they seem to have been devoted. She probably was married to Samuel Walker at Worcester, before their advent at Nantgarw in 1811.

Miss Hewitt, artist, Nantgarw.

James Boden, squeezer, do.

—— Hewitt, thrower, do.

Thomas Singleton, turner, do.

Thomas James, saggerman, do.

(The late Richard Millward, of Groeswen, is my authority for the names and description of these parties. He knew them personally, and worked with them at Nantgarw.)

* Probably thirty-three, as Mr. Ll. Jewitt says she was born in 1783. The information being refused, I am unable to verify the fact.

William Davies, "chinaman," Nantgarw. In the baptismal register at Eglwysilan Church, I found the entry of the baptism of Joseph, son of "William Davies, Chynamân, Nantgarw." This is all I could ascertain about him.

"Betty" Singleton (*née* Thomas). She was married to Thomas Singleton, the turner, at Nantgarw. He afterwards deserted her. She was a native of the neighbourhood of Nantgarw. Her brother, Evan Thomas, informed me that she "painted bits." She was also housekeeper to Billingsley, and probably went with him to Coalport, for I was informed there that his housekeeper was called "Betty."

James Turner. In the Jermyn Street Museum, London, there is a plate of Nantgarw china marked "Q.4.," ornamented with a basket of flowers, and stated to have been painted by James Turner, formerly of the Derby Works. It is profusely and richly decorated. John Haslem says of him that he was a Derby flower-painter, and worked for Sims in London. Also, that there are three plates decorated by him in the Jermyn Street collection.

Mrs. Turner, his daughter-in-law, of Madeley Street, Derby, informs me (1897) that he was born at Derby in 1798, and died there in 1856. He was apprenticed at the Derby Factory to paint; was at London, probably, 1817 to 1820; returned to Derby, and went to the Potteries, where he painted probably from 1828 to 1831. He returned again to Derby to paint, but when work became slack joined the small staff in the old Post Office in Queen Street. This was before the Penny Post was introduced (1840). He was a man of independent spirit, and though he had saved money, and his wife had means, he liked to be employed. His wife was a Miss Welsh, daughter of the builder of the Shot Tower, etc., Derby. She married, firstly, Mr. Hopkinson, china painter; and secondly, James Turner.

Miss Hopkinson, step-daughter, and Miss Turner, daughter, still survive. They have some fine specimens of Turner's painting. One of them is copied to illustrate this volume. It is selected because Miss Hopkinson saw it when it was painted.

Moses Webster, artist, London. Mr. Chaffers says:— Mr. Wm. Bemrose, Jun., of Derby, writes to say that Webster—a Derby painter—painted the Nantgarw china in London, for Mr. Mortlock, of Oxford Street. It was fired by Robins & Randall, of Spa Fields. Binns mentions Webster as one of the "principal painters" at Worcester, under Flight & Barr. Jewitt makes a similar statement to Chaffers. John Haslem says Webster was born in 1792, and died at Derby, 25th October, 1870, aged seventy-eight years. He was a drawing master at Derby for some time, and in his old age painted flowers on cardboard and sold them for a livelihood. I have seen specimens, and one with his signature, which is very shaky, as if the signature of an old man. The flowers also have the appearance of one who had lost the power of vigorous reproduction. He died in great poverty. I have, however, been able to identify one of his paintings on Nantgarw china in his "palmy days" of young manhood. It is in the collection of Ivor Vachell, Esq., Park House, Cardiff. It forms an illustration herein.

Mortlock & Co., china dealers, London. This firm has been very much mixed up with the Nantgarw porcelain speculation. It was through its medium that the ware got hold of the London market. Large quantities "in the white" were consigned to them. They employed artists to decorate it, and had it fired afterwards by Robins & Randall, of Spa Fields, in their enamel kiln. It has been stated that it was a mutual benefit, and that the firm were largely raised by the reputation obtained by the Nantgarw china. Only a few years ago they sold a dinner-service of it for five hundred guineas, and a dessert-service for

two hundred guineas. They were also agents for the Swansea china (see Dillwyn's advertisement in the *Cambrian* newspaper for 3rd May, 1817). The famous dinner-service of Nantgarw china for George IV. was sold to him by them, and recently a plate of it was repurchased by them.

ROBINS & RANDALL, potters, London. These parties were employed by Mortlock to "fire" the Nantgarw china after it was painted by the artists in London.

PELLET & GREEN, dealers, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

NEAL & BAYLEY, do. do. do.

BOUCHER & GUY, dealers, 128, Leadenhall Street, London. These parties were agents for the Swansea china (see Dillwyn's advertisement as to forgeries of the ware in the *Cambrian* newspaper of 3rd May, 1817).

J. ROWLANDS, Nantgarw.

THOMAS POLE, do.

RICHARD MILLER, boy, do.

(? MILLWARD.)

D. MOLANDRE, do.

— EDWARDS, junior, do.

(? EDMUNDS.)

(These persons are mentioned by Mr. W. W. Young, in his diary of 1821-2, as having received sums, probably for wages. But what capacity they were employed in, it is now impossible to say.)

SAMUEL MEAD, potter, Swansea. He was employed at the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea, and subsequently started a pottery in Dyvatty Street, Swansea, at which he was succeeded by Mr. Ricketts.

HENRY RICKETTS, potter, Swansea. He succeeded to the pottery in Dyvatty Street, long known as "Mead's Pottery." It was closed in 1892.

David Evans. He was a clerk originally at the "Cambrian" about the year 1815. He became commercial manager. In 1850 he and Mr. Glasson leased the works. After Glasson's death he retired from the business, and left it to his eldest son, Mr. D. J. Evans. He died on the 20th June, 1882, and was buried at "Bethesda" grave-yard, Swansea.

Lewis Evans was nephew to above-named, and was employed under Dillwyn from about 1844 till close of the "Cambrian." He was a saggerman. He died a few years ago.

Baker, Bevans & Irwin, potters, Swansea. They carried on the "Glamorgan" Pottery, situated close to the Cambrian Pottery (see Plan of Swansea, in Griffith's "Guide" of 1823), for years. The mark "Baker, Bevans & Irwin" is on a common earthenware plate of willow-pattern in the possession of Mr. David Williams, of Swansea. Another mark is "B.B.I." on an ornament of earthenware, seen by me at Mr. Young's, Caerphilly. Mr. Dillwyn bought the Glamorgan Pottery in 1838 from them. Mr. Lewis Evans—who worked at the "Cambrian" for twenty years—thinks the "Glamorgan" was in existence in 1814. In Matthews' "Guide to Swansea," dated 1816, it is stated that the Glamorgan Pottery was then in existence for three years, which would mean 1813 as the first year. Mr. Bevan's Christian name was Martin. Mr. William Baker is supposed to have worked at the "Cambrian" before taking a share in the Glamorgan Pottery. He died in 1819, and was buried at St. Mary's, Swansea. He was a son-in-law of Mr. Haynes, sen., and was very much respected.

Nicholas Tarr, Swansea. He worked at the Swansea potteries. He was a publican at Swansea latterly. He died 9th November, 1891, at Swansea.

James Brindley, engraver, Swansea. His name is found on a Swansea porcelain plate, with the "Mumbles" engraved upon

it (now in possession of Mr. Dobbs, china dealer, Queen Street, Cardiff). A James Brindley served at the Belleek Pottery in Ireland as engraver (*vide* Jermyn Street Museum Catalogue on Belleek). He was twice at the "Cambrian"—from about 1835 to 1845, and again about two years after Stanway Brown left.

Miss Harley, artist, Swansea. Mr. Seward, architect, Cardiff, has a jug of Swansea "opaque china." On it is a scroll marked thus: "Painted by Miss Harley, 1802." The painting is fairly well done, and is that of a bullfinch in colours, on the body of the jug, with oak-leaves and acorns around the rim.

John Roby, pottery proprietor, Swansea. He was a colliery owner at Clydach, but gave up that business. He, with John Bevington and George Haynes, jun., bought Dillwyn's shares in the Cambrian Works in 1817. As they did not succeed very well, owing, as alleged, to the proper receipt for the Nantgarw ware not being handed over by Mr. Dillwyn, the action-at-law, tried at Cardiff in 1821, was brought. Mr. Roby published a defensive pamphlet about the matter at Swansea in 1821.

John Staunter, modeller, Nantgarw. His name is mentioned by Mr. Morgan in his Eisteddfod Prize Essay of 1876. The name was given him by an old workman at the pottery.

Edward Coles, manager, Swansea; probably a brother or other near relative of Mr. John Coles. Edward Coles is mentioned in the advertisement of February, 1783, as at the Swansea Pottery. He was evidently in charge of it.

Charles Stevens, thrower, Swansea. He was an apprentice with Mr. Taylor at Worcester. In 1790 was at Swansea Pottery, and probably resided with Rothwell, for in that year he made application to the proprietors of Derby China Works for a situation, and gave his address at Rothwell's, The Strand, Swansea; or at the Pot-works, Swansea.

HANNAH BEVINGTON was daughter of Timothy Bevington, the potter, etc., at Swansea. She was an artist. A nephew of hers showed me a tea-set that had been painted by her. It was in monochrome, and fairly well done. He understood that she painted on the Swansea china produced by her father. Mr. Pollard-Lewis, of Llanelly, told me that he met her at Ettington, near Stratford, in 1876. She spoke of the Bevington connection with the Swansea potteries. She died at Ettington about that period, at the age of seventy-eight years.

WILLIAM COLES. He was the first proprietor, lessee, and builder of the Cambrian Pottery at Swansea. He leased the ground in 1764 from the Swansea Corporation, and finished building about 1767 or 1768. In the lease he is described as "gentleman"; but in the proceedings of the Town Council, as "Ironmaster of Cadoxton, Neath." He was probably the father of John Coles, iron-merchant, Gloucester, who advertised the pottery for sale in 1783; and of E. Coles, who had charge of it at that time.

JAMES TUNSTALL, modeller, came from Staffordshire to Nantgarw, thence to Swansea and Llanelly.

D. JONES, SEN., and D. JONES, JUN., turners. Both worked at the "Cambrian" till they went to Llanelly Pottery.

Above information given by Mr. Guest, owner South Wales Pottery, Llanelly, and said D. Jones, Jun.

ELIEZER BALL, potter,	Swansea.
CHARLES LEWIS, thrower,	do.
THOMAS LEWIS, potter,	do.
THOMAS DAVIES, printer at pottery,	do.
DANIEL DAVIES, do.	do.
JOS. FURBER, potter,	do.
WILLIAM ROSSER, pottery printer,	do.
WILLIAM HOPKINS, potter,	do.

(Information from the books of the Royal Cambrian Lodge of Foresters, Swansea, by the favour of Mr. Lake, secretary.)

— Bryant, potter and librarian, Swansea; son baptised, 1836.

Job Bentley, potter, Swansea; son baptised, 1829.

* George Beddow, china painter, Swansea; children baptised, 1816 and 1824.

* Thomas Baxter, artist, Swansea; child baptised, 1816.

Lawrence Vecchio, china manager, Swansea; child baptised, 1817.

* George Beddow, artist, Swansea, married, 1813.

Hugh Corbishley, potter, do. do. 1814.

John Edmund, do. do. do. 1815.

John Gardner, do. do. do. 1815.

David Jenkins, do. do. do. 1815.

John Tounner, do. do. do. 1820.

William Bentley, do. do. do. 1821.

* Evan Evans (aged seventy), Swansea, buried, 1850.

(Taken from the registers of St. Mary's Parish Church, Swansea, by favour of Mr. Jones, parish clerk.)

William Morgan, turner, Swansea. From 1812 to 1840 or thereabouts. Information by his daughter, Mrs. Auckland, of Swansea.

The Unknown Artist. He cannot be identified so far as his personality is concerned. Mr. Drane says that he painted in imitation of the French style, but was not a first-rate hand. His mannerism is observable in the production of tulips with a kind of feather-shaped frond or "beard" attached on, at least, some of his productions. There is a china painter spoken of, traditionally, at Swansea, and named Mr. Turncliffe (or Tunnicliffe).

* These names are recorded in other pages as well.

I can get no further tidings of him. Can he be "the Unknown"? Or, possibly, he may be the Frenchman, De Iunic, spoken of by Henry Morris.

William Clowes, Sen.

William Clowes, Jun.

Henry Clowes.

The first-named William Clowes came from Staffordshire to Nantgarw, and thence to Swansea. He was a presser and modeller. He was specially selected by Mr. Dillwyn to assist in the modelling of the Etruscan ware. His sons—William and Henry—assisted him. Henry was only a year or two at the factory. He is my informant, and for much useful information connected with the "Cambrian" works generally. His father used to say that he and a comrade—whose name is forgotten—walked from Hanley to Nantgarw, and when nearing the place lost their way, but hearing the peculiar noise of the "stampers" at the Flint Mill guided them right.

Evan Evans was china painter at Swansea. He was born in 1780, and died, aged seventy, in 1850. He probably painted on the "opaque china," under Rothwell and Pardoe. His grand-daughter (Mrs. Roberts) says he painted all his life at the "Cambrian," and made "good money." I cannot trace his work. The impression I gather from some of the old workmen who knew him was, that he was an inferior painter. He probably decorated the earthenware principally.

William Williams was a china painter at Swansea. He is said, by some of the old workmen who remembered him, to have been a very good flower painter, but was much afflicted with rheumatism. When the china works were closed in 1824, he was taken on by Mr. Dillwyn as warehouseman. He had the reputation of being a respectable man. He was a bachelor, and lived with his brother and sister in Mariner Street. He left

there some of his paintings; but they cannot now be traced. Various accounts have been given to me of his age. He probably died about the middle of the century, from fifty to sixty years of age.

Thomas Thomas. He was a painter on earthenware. He was described to me by one of the old workmen as a "poor painter," and that he was kept on after the china time to paint earthenware; hence he got low wages. He is described as a very decent man; lived in Mariner Street, like Williams; and, like him, died a bachelor. There is no certainty about his age; the probability is he died about the year 1864, aged seventy years.

De Iunic. Henry Morris, in his statement to Col. Grant Francis in 1850, says there was a French artist at Swansea. There is no other record than this, except one or two verbal traditions handed down. His name is recorded as De Iunic. It looks like a misprint, although there are many Normandy names ending in "ic." Jewitt says there was a gold-tracer called Jenny. There are many pieces of the best "Swansea" painted with birds in the French style, and with very fine gold work. Hence I think this is the man—Jewitt's man—and that his name, probably, was De Junie.

John Stanway Brown, a copper-plate engraver. Mr. Henry Clowes says that "J. S. B." was his brother-in-law, and that he came from Staffordshire to Swansea in the "forties," when Brindley left. Brown stayed at the "Cambrian" about ten years, and went back to Staffordshire. It is only recently that he died at an advanced age. He was a good engraver, and could also make original designs for his work. He was the engraver employed by Mr. Dillwyn for the "Etruscan" ware.

John Richardson.

— Richardson.

Mrs. Richardson.

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

John Richardson also came from Staffordshire. He assisted Brindley very much and was a useful and studious man. He was a "printer" or transferer; but he could sketch as well. He and Brindley brought out a view of Swansea. A specimen of Richardson's work is now at the Royal Institute at Swansea. He was employed about thirty years at the "Cambrian," and died about the year 1870. His brother, whose Christian name I could not get, was also a printer at the "Cambrian," and Mrs. Richardson painted on the earthenware in a rather superior manner.

James Hinckley. He came from Staffordshire to Swansea somewhere about the "twenties." He was first a presser, and then manager at the "Cambrian." He died about the year 1858. He was a superior and ingenious man, and was continually experimenting. That is, he either by himself or by others mixed up receipts for potting, and tried effects in the kiln; he also mixed colours. He was manager at the "Cambrian" till the transfer to Evans in 1850, when he left to go to Landore Pottery, and then to Ynysmudw Pottery. He saved money, speculated in collieries, and lost it; which, probably, hastened his decease.

David J. Evans. He was the eldest son of David Evans, who leased the "Cambrian" from Dillwyn. He became sole proprietor after his father retired from the business. He was invited by his uncle—who was wealthy—to go to New York and join him. As the lease of the pottery was nearly out, and good terms were offered by Cory, Yeo & Co. to make the site a Patent Fuel Works, he decided to close it and go to New York.

— Glasson. Mr. Glasson was a traveller for the South Wales Pottery, Llanelly, for years, and joined Mr. David Evans in leasing the "Cambrian." He died a few years afterwards, when the lease lapsed to the Evans family.

JOSIAH BALL. According to the statements of his grandchildren, Josiah Ball came from Staffordshire to Swansea about the beginning of the century, and worked at the "Cambrian." He was a Unitarian. He died in 1813, and was buried at the Unitarian burial-ground, Wind Street, Swansea. He was said to be a haulier by one descendant; by others, a manager. He was father of Eli Ball, who was manager of the "Cambrian" for a number of years.

JOHN BALL, son of Eli Ball, worked at the "Cambrian" for a few years, then went to sea. Is now landlord of the "Druid's Arms," Swansea.

"OLD" HARRIS. Henry Clowes says he remembers "Old Harris," who was a lusterer, and was employed for years at the "Cambrian" on the lustre ware.

WILLIAM REES was a presser at the "Cambrian" from 1834 till 1862, and left owing to an affection of the chest, brought on by his work. He is now landlord of the "Bowen Arms," Neath Road, and has a most lively recollection of what occurred at the pottery. He has given a good deal of information.

DAVID DAVIES was a presser at the "Cambrian," and a relative of the proprietor's—David Evans. He went as a boy, and, with intervals, was there till the close in 1870. He shows a jug, which was the last one made at the "Cambrian"; also one made and painted in 1830; both are earthenware. The latter is very well painted with flowers, as good as some of the china paintings. It *may* have been painted by Pollard.

— BRINDLEY, JUN. He assisted his father in the "fifties," at the "Cambrian." Was said to be very clever at drawing, but died young.

JOHN THOMAS AND EDWARD THOMAS, father and son. They were both "glost" firemen at the "Cambrian": former from 1800 to 1856; the latter from 1837 to 1870—the close of the

works. The latter has given sound information about the works, etc.

— Davies was employed as a boy for a short time at the "Cambrian," and left to join the police force. Is grandson of Joseph Furber, previously noted.

A. R. D. Davies. He worked under contract as a "founder" for the "Cambrian" from 1856 till the close of the works. He had his shop near the Flint Mill, and has many reminiscences of the factory. He still works at the same place.

David Morris was a "handler" at the "Cambrian." He was husband to Eli Ball's sister, who is said to have painted at the pottery for fifty years, and was a superior hand.

— Roberts was a "flatman" employed for years at the "Cambrian," but owing to slackness of work left, and went to Newport for work. He was husband to my informant.

List of some of the women-painters on the earthenware at Swansea. Information furnished by Mrs. Roberts, of Tontine Street, sextoness of St. Matthew's Church, as follows :—

Mrs. Maria Morris.

Mrs. Eliza Lewis.

Mrs. Catherine Davies.

Mrs. Williams.

Mrs. George.

Mrs. Blackmore.

Mrs. Betsy Harris.

(Mrs. Morris was sister to Eli Ball, and is said to have painted at the "Cambrian" for fifty years. Mrs. Lewis was daughter to Eli Ball. She is one of the last survivors, and preserves some relics she has of her own work. Mrs. Harris had charge of the female painters for some years before the close of the works.)

Mr. Green, confidential agent thirteen years at the "Cambrian"; gave notice to leave in 1810, because of the nuisance

arising from the soap-works adjoining, started by Haynes ; was a witness at the trial in 1810, case of Dillwyn *v.* Haynes and others.

Ralph Leigh.

Thomas David.

Sarah Rees.

(These are mentioned in the same trial case as witnesses, the two men as "principal hands," and Sarah Rees as a "girl learning to paint.")

— Goodsby came from Derby to Swansea, and was a modeller of flowers in the biscuit. Is mentioned by Henry Morris.

J. W. Biggs came from Coalport to Swansea to make porcelain, but only succeeded in making a stone body. (*Vide* Henry Morris' statement.)

—Burn also came from Coalport to Swansea to make porcelain, but failed and returned to Coalport, as per Morris' statement.

Isaac Wood came from Burslem to Nantgarw, and on to Swansea with Beeley and Walker, according to Morris. Was a modeller. William Rees also stated that Isaac Wood assisted Hinckley, and that his own son worked with him. This must have been after the china period. Also, that another son kept a grocer's shop in the Pottery Lane, Swansea.

Bradley & Co. were London enamellers, etc. They painted and fired the Nantgarw and Swansea china sent up "in the white." Their decoration is conspicuous for large exotic birds ; with the name of the firm often endorsed in large hand.

— Sims, another London firm, who did the painting and firing in the same way on Welsh ware. There is a plate in the Derby Museum stamped "Nantgarw C. W." It was decorated at their establishment, and bought by Robert Bloor from them in 1820 or 1821. It was kept in the London Derby

Warehouse, and was purchased by John Haslem, and at his death became the property of the Museum at Derby. The bevel is covered with roses, like the "Prentice Plate," but not in the same style.

James Plant, an artist, was with Chamberlain at Worcester till 1808, when he went to London (according to Messrs. Mortlock's letter to Dr. Vachell, of Cardiff), and painted on the Welsh porcelain.

— Cartwright was another London enameller who painted and fired the Welsh china, like the others above mentioned.

David Evans. Mr. Ll. Jewitt mentions "Evans" as a good flower painter. David Evans had a good repute as a flower painter, as well as for fruit, at Swansea, which place he left at the close of the china works to go to Staffordshire. He also worked at various places. His son has an article in *The Pottery Gazette* for March, 1887, in which he says that his father worked at Worcester, Coalport, etc., and that he taught in the "mansions of the nobility"; also that his works are to be found in many museums, etc. An interesting story was told me by William Rees about his work. He painted a plaque on leaving Swansea. It was a sketch of fruit; and he gave it to a friend, who, after a number of years, parted with it to the late Col. Grant Francis, who was a member of a committee of the Exhibition of 1851, and had to meet Prince Albert there. He showed the plaque to the Prince, and it was very much admired indeed. John Winfield, of Sacheverel Street, Derby, informed me that he knew David Evans when in "The Potteries" some half a century or more ago. Winfield is now eighty-four years old; was a gilder at Bloor's factory, Derby, and removed about the year 1838 to Staffordshire. David Evans used to give him money to gather wild-flowers, which he painted well; but he could paint anything, and was remarkably clever. Evans was working at Alcock's,

Burslem, then, and appeared to be fifty years old, or thereabouts.

William Pegg. There were two William Peggs flower painters at Derby. The first, in point of time, was he who became a Quaker. He was born in 1775, and died in 1851. He was at Swansea in 1817 on a visit for a very short time, but there is no proof of his having painted there. He was labouring under the impression that he was not fulfilling his religious duty in painting material objects. The second William Pegg was no relation to the other. He was born in 1795, and died in 1867. He worked at Derby till 1817, when he went to Nantgarw. He and his wife walked all the way from Derby, and often used to talk of the weary journey they had. Pegg was a great admirer of Billingsley, and went to join him. When Billingsley left Nantgarw for Coalport, Pegg went to London to work there, and afterwards returned to Derby. In a few years (? in 1825) he removed to Manchester to become a drawing master, and a designer on calico. In 1840 he went into business for himself at Manchester, and amassed a competency. In 1861 he was in Derby, and called on Mr. William Bemrose, with whom he left a specimen of his flower-painting on paper. I have seen it; also other two smaller ones on cardboard. He painted with great taste and considerable force.

The time of his removal from Nantgarw was early in 1819. His daughter was born in March, 1819, in London, about a month or so after leaving Nantgarw. She married a Mr. Whitaker, a relative of Mrs. Sowter, of Derby. Mrs. Sowter was a Whitaker. She informed me of these facts. She often conversed with Pegg and his wife about their Nantgarw experiences. The time given exactly corresponds with that indicated by Young as Billingsley's departure to Coalport. He says it was eighteen months after leaving Swansea, which was the summer of 1817.

I discovered a plaque painted by William Pegg in the collection of Sir Alfred Seale Haslam, of Derby. It forms one of the illustrations in this volume. Its history is interesting, and its authenticity well verified. It was painted as a wedding present to Mrs. Sparkes, of Derby. It ultimately came into the hands of Mr. Oliver, auctioneer, who sold it to Sir Alfred. Mrs. Sowter, who was acquainted with Mr. Sparkes and knew the plaque very well, has identified it. It may be said to be painted after the Billingsley school, but with a mannerism of his (Pegg's) own.

Mrs. Sowter states that Pegg was such an admirer of Billingsley that he remained at Nantgarw at inconvenience to himself and family. Hence she thinks it was only because Billingsley removed to Coalport that Pegg left that place.

Eli Ball. He was son of Josiah Ball, who came to Swansea from Staffordshire. Eli spent his whole life with the Cambrian pot works. As soon as the old pottery became defunct, Eli also departed this life, as if it were not worth living afterwards. He went in as a boy, and rose from post to post —mould-maker, modeller, and manager. He became manager when Hinckley left in 1850 or so, and remained so till 1870, when the works were closed. He died in 1872, about seventy years of age. I have seen small trial figures of busts of Mendelssohn, etc., in Wedgwood-stonebody made by him, and shown to me by his daughter. He was a man who seems to have been highly respected.

Matthew Colclough. There was a painter of birds—mostly with a landscape background, having flowers, etc., as accessories—at Swansea china factory. There are various specimens of his work in the collections of the old Swansea families. One, an eagle killing a snake, forms an illustration herein. It came down in the family of Colonel Morgan, R.E., of Swansea. Who painted these fine birds, so true to nature?

Mr. Ll. Jewitt, *vide* "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," says that "Colclough" was an "admired" bird painter at Swansea. Mr. W. H. Slater, of Stoke-on-Trent, informs me that Matthew Colclough painted at Swansea, Derby, Coalport, and other places; and that he was an exceptionally good painter of bird subjects in the wild state. Mr. Slater says Colclough and his grandfather (William Slater) were intimate friends, and, amongst a crowd of others, he remembers as a boy hearing Colclough praised very highly. Mr. William Slater was a china painter at Derby and Pinxton with Billingsley, and hence may have introduced Colclough to Billingsley, who was the means, probably, of him going to Swansea. Mr. Slater thinks Matthew Colclough was of Staffordshire birth. If of the same age as his friend (William Slater), he would be born in 1780, and therefore about forty-four years old when the Swansea works were closed.

Mr. Ll. Jewitt enumerates a number of potters of the same surname who resided in Staffordshire and Nottingham from time to time.

Mr. Slater, who remembers the mannerism of Colclough's bird painting, has seen my illustration of his work, and has very little doubt that the original decoration on the Swansea piece was by him.

GEORGE BEDDOW. Mr. Ll. Jewitt in "Ceramic Art" says that "Beddoes" was an heraldic painter at Swansea. On making inquiry there, I find that the artist under notice was at Swansea in and before the porcelain period. He was described to me as a landscape painter principally, and was an intimate friend of William Pollard, with whom he worked after the close of the factory (china section) at Swansea, painting, probably, on the Bevington remaining stock, or on Staffordshire ware imported by Pollard.

On examining the registers of St. Mary's Parish Church, Swansea, I find the record of his marriage there in 1813, and the baptisms of two of his children in 1816 and 1824. Mr. Pollard-Lewis, of Llanelly, has several specimens which are traditionally attributed to Beddow—they having come down in his family. One of them forms an illustration herein. I also found from a relative of George Beddow, that he left Swansea to work in "The Potteries" district of Staffordshire, where he died.

THE MERITS AND QUALITY OF THE PORCELAIN, ETC.

IN order to appreciate this part of the subject aright, it is necessary to make a few preliminary observations. Some connoisseurs have rated the quality of the best Nantgarw ware very high. Indeed, some have stated it to be superior to the best old Sèvres porcelain. Judging, however, by the prices paid in the market, or by the value placed upon the ware at the present day, it is evident that "old Sèvres" carries off the palm. A dinner service of the latter, of the exquisite Rose du Barri type, which is now at Windsor Castle, is said to be valued at £30,000. This seems a fabulous sum. But, if we consider that at the Bernal sale, and at others, sums amounting to thousands of pounds were paid for a pair of pieces, the wonderment is somewhat modified. The highest price paid for a Nantgarw dinner service, that I am aware of, was one sold by Mr. Mortlock only a few years ago, for five hundred guineas. That is a long way from the Sèvres values. But, wherein lies the merit of each? There is no doubt that the best of the old Sèvres ware was a "soft" paste. So was that of Nantgarw, and, doubtless, that of Swansea when first produced there by "Beeley" and Walker in 1814. The anecdote* of the "bowls" sent to the London warehouses as Sèvres ware is illustrative.

* See biographical notice of H. Morris for the "anecdote."

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY T. PARDOE.

It may be that the age of the ware has some influence on the market, like that of paintings by the "old masters." Hence, "old Sèvres" would have the advantage in that respect. The variety of the decoration, such as the Rose du Barri colours, may also give an added value. But it may be said as well, on this point, that the French artists painted mostly "conventional" subjects, whereas the Nantgarw and Swansea men painted mainly from nature. Which system is the better one? Hereon there is a difference of opinion. One eminent authority told me that the conventional style of painting was the best for porcelain; whereas another, equally able to judge, says he prefers the close imitation of natural objects, the artistic treatment being equal. Another consideration comes in before assessing the merits of our Welsh porcelain. It is to know something of the history of the porcelain manufacture. It is well known, and as already stated, that, after Marco Polo returned from the east with specimens of Oriental porcelain, great efforts were made to imitate the manufacture. The Chinese were appealed to, but they only deceived the questioners. Professor Church says the first approximate success was reached in the Medicean or Florentine translucent ware, about 1575-1580. Three materials were used—the porcelain clay of Tretto, a fine sand, and a glassy "frit." At Venice, it is said, porcelain was made in 1470; but no specimens have ever been traced of it in modern times. Various receipts were used as "frit" bodies in Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and England. These were the "artificial" or "soft" pastes. But Böttger, at Meissen, in the year 1715, made the "hard paste" body. The Kaolin was discovered by Schnorr in 1709, as is generally believed, and was first used as hair powder. The manufacture of porcelain from it was at first kept in strict secrecy. In 1768 the "hard" porcelain was made at Sèvres; although it was alleged that the discovery of Kaolin was made in the

neighbourhood of Alençon, in 1758,* by the Comte de Brancas-Lauraguais. He took out an English patent for his discovery and manufacture in 1766. In England, William Cookworthy found the Cornish clay or true Kaolin, and "hard" porcelain was made at Plymouth in 1768. Previously the factories at Chelsea, Bow, Derby, Fulham, and Worcester had been started, and must have used an artificial or soft paste body. After 1715, at Dresden or Meissen, in Germany; 1758 at Alençon, in France; and 1768 at Plymouth, in England; the "hard" porcelain was made, and soon superseded the "soft" paste productions. The advantages were—that it could be fired at a higher temperature without fracture (making less waste), and the materials were more ready to hand. It had, also, a merit of its own in appearance, although its "soft" or "artificial" predecessor was more highly esteemed for its glassy translucency and facility of taking on rich colours and enamels.

Well, Billingsley, the Nantgarw potter and artist, had served at Derby as early as 1774. He had a peculiar receipt of his own which he tried at various places, and ultimately came with it to Nantgarw. He used it there in 1812, 1813, and 1814, when he removed to Swansea, where he again used the same receipt and made the same kind of ware. Owing to the number of "wasters," Mr. Dillwyn and some of his scientific friends "improved" the body, and Swansea ware became comparatively a "hard" porcelain. It is generally conceded by the authorities that Billingsley's receipt was one which came nearest to the best old Sèvres *pâte tendre*, or "soft" porcelain of the Louis Quinze period. If so, we have this position. Given that his receipt was the best, and that his painting was the best, it follows, if he produced the ware at Nantgarw and Swansea, and painted on some of it at both

* *Vide* Professor Church's "Handbook of English Porcelain," p. 5.

places, that the merits of Nantgarw and Swansea ware would be the same in degree for those particular productions, and that they were quite equal to that of the famous French factory. But it is a question whether Billingsley's ware, made at Swansea* and painted by him, can be identified. There is no doubt that he did decorate some of it, for Henry Morris—his disciple, imitator, and admirer—expressed himself as justly proud when *his* decorations were mistaken by the workmen for those of the master. The logical deduction is that Billingsley painted on Swansea porcelain, otherwise they could not have judged, or misjudged, Morris' productions.

That there were two† distinct receipts for Swansea china is proved by the details of the "trial" in 1821 of Bevington and others *versus* Dillwyn. It was first alleged there were three, and that Mr. Dillwyn had withheld the most precious of them, namely, that of Beeley's Nantgarw ware; thus proving the high estimation in which it was held. But Mr. Dillwyn's affidavit was that two receipts were handed to Mr. Timothy Bevington, and his plea succeeded. We must, therefore, assume two to be the correct number. Hence we have Billingsley's receipt used for Nantgarw ware, and at the starting at Swansea; and Dillwyn's receipt subsequently used at Swansea.‡ That particular receipt, or body,

* Much if not all was stamped "Nantgarw," see Mr. Dillwyn's letter to Dr. Lardner.

Of course, it is a question about the superiority of old Sèvres decoration. It was more elaborate; but it was a question of means, and that limited Beeley in his decorative work.

Mr. Drane says on the disputed point of old Sèvres and Nantgarw, and their relative merits:—"I have extremely little knowledge of Sèvres porcelain, but none of the *pâte tendre* that I have handled or seen has, to my mind, anything like the beauty of some pieces of the Nantgarw body. They are different in kind, and have clear distinctions of quality; but I hold that the finest Nantgarw body is finer than the finest Sèvres; but the decoration of Nantgarw never reached the level of fine Sèvres. First, because Nantgarw rarely coloured the whole field, or even part of it with the deep rich colours seen on the field of Sèvres; and the gilding never equals that of Sèvres in its excellency of grace, design and richness, that is to its artistic whole. There were many clever artists employed at Sèvres: only one (Beeley) at Nantgarw, and I hold very decidedly that no Sèvres artist in flowers has ever surpassed, even if any equalled him. But no Nantgarw that I have seen has been *so rich in general effect* of decoration as Sèvres."

† Two, *i.e.*, used by Dillwyn. Bevington used a third afterwards.

‡ This question is more fully dealt with in the "Swansea" section.

was in all likelihood used, or some imitation of it, by Young and Pardoe at Nantgarw after "Beeley" left, seeing that he took his own receipt with him for Mr. Rose to use at Coalport. It will be observed that in one of Mr. Dillwyn's letters, he describes his improved receipt as producing a porcelain with a "more compact fracture," which is the characteristic of "hard" porcelain, in contradistinction to the granulation of that produced by "Beeley's" receipt. The case really amounts to this, that in 1812, 1813, 1814, 1817, 1818, and 1819, the "soft" porcelain was made at Nantgarw; in 1814, and perhaps in 1815, it was made at Swansea; that the "hard" body was made at Swansea in 1815, 1816 to 1824; and in 1820, 1821, and 1822, it was made at Nantgarw. It seems fair to conclude that the greater part of the Nantgarw ware was "soft" porcelain; and the larger proportion of Swansea china was "hard," comparatively, judging from the years of production of each.

How is it to be identified? In the case of Nantgarw the principal indicator is the impressed stamp, thus :—

"NANT-GARW
C. W."

in small ruby type, Roman capitals. The letters "C.W." mean China Works. This mark is to be found, I believe, both on the "soft" and "harder" porcelain. The distinction between them can only be made by the experienced eye* discerning the peculiar texture of the one body compared to the other. The amateur can only judge safely by comparing two specimens, one of each body, at the same time. As to Billingsley's painting, that also requires experience to distinguish it from its imitations.

Regarding Swansea ware, it is understood that the name "Swansea," painted or engraved in red, and a trident, indicates the "harder" paste made by Dillwyn from about 1816 to 1817,

* It can also be distinguished by the "feel" or touch.

when he advertised the pirates who were imitating his ware. The mark "Bevington" over Swansea also shows another make at a later date.

Of course in firing this tender material a number of "wasters" and inferior pieces were made. Doubtless many twisted plates were painted by apprentices and inferior decorators, such as Lavinia Billingsley, Miss Hewitt, "Betty," and others. The best decorations were done by "Beeley," Pardoe, Baxter, Morris, Pollard, Latham, D. Evans, Beddow, Pegg, Young, and Colclough at the factories themselves.

What say the authorities about these wares?

Professor Church, in his "Handbook of English Porcelain," says:—"At Nantgarw they made a soft, glassy, but very beautiful translucent porcelain. The decorations of the ware consisted mainly of painted flowers and birds, with gilding. Plates, dishes, and tea-ware—chiefly cups and saucers—were made in considerable quantities; vases were rarely attempted.

"The description given . . . of the paste and decoration of Nantgarw porcelain is almost equally applicable to the productions of the Swansea Works. The delicately and deftly-painted roses of Billingsley occur on both fabrics; but certain embossed patterns, in low relief and uncoloured, are almost characteristic of Swansea. This porcelain, however, is frequently found having for decoration some of those beautiful and faithful transcripts from natural history objects, which were painted by W. W. Young. . . . Flowers, generally a single spray of one kind only and of the natural size, commonly occur on plates and dishes of Swansea porcelain. In some cases these have their outlines and shading in transfer-painting, the enamel colours being laid on subsequently by hand in broad washes."

Dr. Lardner (*vide* his work, "The Cabinet Cyclopædia") says:—"A porcelain made at Nantgarrow (*sic*) in Wales was of

a superior quality to any hitherto made in this country. . . . The materials were of the most refractory character." He adds that success in making the porcelain was only attained by the expensive measure of sacrificing the saggers, which was owing to the high heat used, and that they could not be placed a second time in the furnace.*

In 1837 a work was published, entitled, "The Chemistry of the Compounds used in Porcelain, Glass, and Pottery," by S. Shaw, LL.D. At page 429 the author states that "Mr. Billingsley at the Nantgarrow (*sic*) manufactory made a porcelain which, as an artificial felspar, has some excellence, and approaches nearest real felspar; the expense certainly was great, and only was the ware defective through his being unacquainted with the principles of combinative potency. This was a notable instance how much the mechanical processes of pottery are in advance of that work and labour of love—the science of chemistry in regard to atoms."†

Dr. Shaw says that he visited Swansea in 1831; that is, six years before publishing his book, and about seven years after

* Mr. Drane says of this statement:—"Very humbly, but doggedly, I object to this statement as erroneous. I suspect the saggers theory to be one of the several delusive explanations given by Beeley & Co. for their failure to produce a satisfactory product. 'Nantgarw' is a very soft paste, so soft that Young, Dillwyn & Co. were always trying to strengthen it, which they accomplished by giving increasing *hardness* at the cost of all the beauty of the Nantgarw (Billingsley) paste. The harder the paste the more kaolin there is in it, the higher the temperature necessary to combine its constituents. A piece of Nantgarw or *pâte tendre* of Sèvres would fuse inside of an Oriental bowl, whilst itself, at such a heat, would remain uninjured.

"The constituent elements of 'Nantgarw' combine only too easily, and the result is more nearly allied to glass than to real porcelain. The most refractory materials were *not*, as suggested, the most infusible, but the most unmanageable in Beeley's, as in other hands, in at once retaining the beauty of 'Nantgarw' and attaining the strength of 'Oriental.' Mr. Rose, at Coalport (with the same receipt), did not complain of the saggers."

[Mr. Drane is a practical chemist, and, by long study, has a most intimate knowledge of the scientific and artistic merits of any porcelain. He is, therefore, entitled to speak with authority. —W. T.]

† Mr. Drane writes to me in regard to Dr. Shaw thus:—"I question very much Shaw's grandiloquent and supercilious Pharisaism when he speaks of Beeley's paste possessing 'some excellence,' and Beeley's ignorance of 'combinative potency.' Shaw gave the *combinative potency* of hydrogen as 1, and that of oxygen as 8; while modern chemists give them as 2 and 16. He should have remembered that his and Beeley's theory is based on experience attained without any knowledge of the modern and frequently revised 'atomic theory.' Witness the perfect porcelains of China and Japan."

Bevington's China Works were closed. Hence he had the opportunity of getting information when men who had seen the porcelain works were still alive. He conversed with several workmen of both manufactories. Dillwyn's China Works were discontinued, he says, because of frequent failures and loss of capital, owing to the persons to whom he gave the management. Also, because the body and glaze were unsuited to each other, and "guessing" made things worse—that is, proceeding without a scientific knowledge of chemistry.

The *Art Journal* of 1860, page 154, states that Nantgarw had been the seat of a porcelain manufactory, giving employment to some of the best artists; that it had been conducted, at one time, by the ingenious Mr. W. W. Young; and that the beauty of the ware was unequalled, being much sought after by collectors; and that large prices were given for specimens.

Mr. Binns, in his elaborate work "A Century of Potting in the City of Worcester," says:—"The porcelain made at Nantgarw was a very beautiful article in appearance, but it was fragile; notwithstanding this defect there was a demand for it in London, where, it was said, Mr. Mortlock contracted to take the whole of the ware in the white."*

Marryat, in his "History of Pottery and Porcelain" (edition, 1868), simply quotes Dr. Lardner as given above in his description of the Nantgarw and Swansea ware.

Mr. Chaffers, in his "Keramic Gallery," says:—Nantgarw produced fine porcelain, like that at Pinxton; that it had a

* Mr. Drane's criticism here is:—"The broad artistic defect of Nantgarw is due to the absence of ground colour, and the consequent general effect of coldness, poorness, and whiteness. I have seen specimens with what is called a Rose du Barri ground colour, but it was poor, defective, and unsatisfactory. Also others with a fine Gros-bleu ground, but both are extremely rare. If Nantgarw had mastered the secret of these fine ground colours, as Sèvres had done, I believe its price at this moment would be fully as high, and much more truly representative of its relative excellence and unrivalled beauty of paste. At this moment a piece of *white ground pâte tendre* of Sèvres may be bought for £5 or £6, which would fetch £50 or £60 if it had a Rose du Barri, Gros-bleu or apple-green ground; although in no other respect superior to the white."

vitreous appearance and a granulated fracture, like lump sugar. Being made of soft paste, it did not always stand the kiln heat. Early productions were often cracked in the glaze or warped. It had a fine body and texture, but was expensive to produce. Specimens are now scarce and high in price. Again, he says of Swansea porcelain, that of 1815 was distinguished for fine quality, and the pattern had usually pink roses, with designs and borders of gold.

Mr. John Haslem, in his able work, "The Old Derby China Factory," says that probably Nantgarw china was superior to any other produced; also, that many collectors and dealers say it was superior to anything of the kind ever made before or since; and that extraordinary prices are given for genuine specimens at the present day, but that, from its extreme delicacy, it was more distinguished for its beauty than for its utility.

In "Crockford's Directory" will be found the advertisement of Messrs. John Mortlock & Co., Oxford Street and Orchard Street, London, "Artists and Designers in Porcelain and Glass to H.M. the Queen . . . firm founded in 1746." The authorities on pottery generally ascribe the successful sale of Nantgarw and Swansea porcelain to that firm in the period of production. But it has also been asserted that the Welsh ware had something to do, at that time, in advancing the fortunes of Mortlock. Be that as it may, their manager told the writer of this work, a few years ago, that he considered the Nantgarw best china better than that of old Sèvres ware.* He produced specimens of each to prove his contention.

But perhaps one of the most pronounced of "expert" opinions on the subject is that of Mr. John Randall, of Madeley. In his "History of Madeley" he says:—"Messrs. Billingsley

* Mr. Drane remarks on this assertion:—"If Nantgarw had had the Royal patronage, etc., enjoyed by Sèvres, it would at this moment be the most highly prized of all porcelain."

and Walker made a superior kind of porcelain, first at Nantgarw, and afterwards at the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea. This was a *pure, soft paste* porcelain, superior to any at present produced in the kingdom, and second only to the famous *pâte tendre* of Sèvres, at the *very best period* of its manufacture. This china (Nantgarw) was first made in 1813 by Billingsley. . . . He was an artist, and understood the manufacture in all its branches. He produced a frit body by mixing the materials, firing them in order to blend them together, then reduced the vitrified substance into clay—a process which was carried on at old Sèvres during the reign of Louis XV., and thereby produced an article fine in texture, beautifully transparent, and of a delicate waxy hue, very superior to the dingy blue tinge given to much of the best china of that day. Connoisseurs were at once attracted by it, and Mr. Mortlock went down and entered into an engagement to purchase all that Billingsley and his son-in-law could make."*

Mr. Randall told the writer in 1887, that his uncle, Mr. Martin Randall, had kilns at Madeley, which were started about the year 1826 ; that his uncle had a receipt like Billingsley's ; and that he, Mr. John Randall, had worked when young at the Madeley Pot Works. He related how his uncle made porcelain for the London market, but the dealers could not get him to put the old Sèvres mark on it in order to deceive the public. A dealer said that the old Quaker's ware was the best in the market, being nearest to old Sèvres porcelain ; that the only fault his uncle had was the possession of a conscience, which would not allow him to tamper with the "marks." This fine ware was made from the Nantgarw receipt, or a similar one.

* Mr. Drane observes :—"*Mortlock purchased all they could make.* Bravo, Mortlock ! but, beware, collector ! Mortlock bought it in the white and had it painted in London. As nine-tenths of the sales of to-day of Nantgarw ware are of this order, it is extremely difficult for the uninitiated to obtain a really genuine specimen : that is, genuine in both senses of being made and painted at Nantgarw ; and no rule can be given for their guidance but intimate knowledge of detail based on very considerable experience and a natural critical faculty. Few, very few dealers, seem able to distinguish it, and their opinion, though honest, may be questioned."

The historian of Madeley goes on to say:—"The chief beauty of Mr. Randall's porcelain, like that of other frit bodies, or *pâte tendre* china, was that it admitted of a complete amalgamation of the painting with the glaze, and also of richness and depth of colour, as in the case of the torquoise, not to be produced on ordinary china. It had, too, that waxy whiteness and mellow transparency for which old porcelain was distinguished."

The above extract is made for the purpose of showing that Nantgarw ware was also of the same first-class nature and texture, being produced from the same kind of receipt as that of Madeley.

Mr. John Randall has a pretty good right to speak on the subject. His age is nearly level with the century, and when a mere lad he was employed at the Coalport China Works as an artist. He gives, in his book, an amusing but instructive instance of how experts themselves may be deceived with imitations of porcelain, though, he adds, a man can easily recognise his own work. The instance was this: Mr. Rose—the energetic and talented owner of the Coalport Works at the beginning of this century—had bought a vase as for old Sèvres ware. He asked Mr. Randall if he could do any decorations like it; but was astonished to find that it had been produced at his own factory, and decorated by Randall himself. A similar story is told of Baxter (see his memoir herein). It is a singular coincidence.

Mr. Randall also recognised an ornament in the Marquis of Anglesey's collection of "Old Sèvres" as being one painted by himself at Madeley. At that time the demand for the French china was keen, and some of the London dealers pandered to the public taste in that deceptive way. They employed agents in Paris to buy the ware in the white and send it to London, where it was painted "as Nantgarw had been." Slightly-painted patterns, too, were also procured from France (*vide* "History of

Madeley," p. 206). All the colours were taken off by means of fluoric acid, and expensive painting and gilding substituted. The prices given were high. In 1850 cups and saucers fetched from £25 to £30 each; and bowls, £60 to £70. At Bernal's sale a pair of Rose du Barri vases sold for 1,850 guineas The sale lasted for thirty-two days. The porcelain, after five days' sale, realized a total of £17,111 19s. At Christie's auction-rooms, in the "seventies," a set of three jardinières brought £10,000.

These facts will indicate the great temptation there was to pirate any such goods having a reputation, whether from Sèvres, Nantgarw, or Swansea.

Turning from the ware itself, let us ask what the "authorities" say of the Nantgarw and Swansea artists?

One of those authorities on the subject of pottery and its decoration is Mr. Binns, of Worcester. He has spent a lifetime in the study and practical application thereof. In his "Century of Potting," he says of Billingsley that he was a flower painter, and one of the best turned out by the Derby Works; that his groupings were very elegant, and his roses—from a peculiar manner of painting—have been celebrated. In one of the Derby pattern-books he found this instruction: "To be painted with Billingsley's flowers." Amongst the "principal painters" at Flight & Barr's Works at Worcester, he enumerates Billingsley and Baxter.

Mr. Chaffers says Baxter was a clever painter of figure subjects. Chaffers was right. I have seen a specimen which is in the possession of Mr. Drane. It is a beautifully decorated Worcester vase,* and is signed "T. Baxter, 1802." On the body is a scene from Hamlet, namely, Hamlet and his mother when he upbraids her, and, comparing his father with his uncle, exclaims:

* It is reproduced in this book.

"Look here, upon this picture; and on this." The figures are rather young-looking; but finely and artistically executed in brown monochrome.

In the Jermyn Street Museum Catalogue, the following appears:—"Thomas Pardoe, whose name will be found on several plates, well painted with flowers, was a glass stainer and enameller," etc.

Mr. Ll. Jewitt says of Billingsley, that he was "one of the most remarkable men in the whole line of English potters; and one to whose artistic genius the exquisite decoration of some Derby and Worcester productions are indebted, and to whose practical skill and life-long energies so many important factories owed their origin." He also affirms that "Beeley" was the best flower painter of the day or since.

The same authority (Jewitt) states that Thomas Pardoe was an "excellent flower painter." Of his son—W. H. Pardoe—he says that he was a painter of great skill; and that he also was a practical potter.

John Haslem, another trustworthy authority, says Billingsley was the ablest man produced at the old Derby Works, and that the early improvements of ceramic manufactures were considerably indebted to him. The famous Derby 'Prentice Plate was painted by Billingsley. It was kept in a shop full of painters for seventy years, as a pattern for them, at the Derby Works; and is described thus:—"It is surrounded by a border of roses . . . . . in every conceivable position, every one being a distinct and really remarkable work. The stems are wonderfully graceful and elastic, and suggest at once that they are alive—the weight of the flower producing a curve, which one can fancy is changing with the flutter of the breeze, or the pressure of increased moisture."

Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall wrote some articles about South Wales for the *Art Journal*. In the volume for 1860, it is stated

they had visited Nantgarw, and, *inter alia*, the fact that the pottery had at one time been conducted by the "ingenious" Mr. W. W. Young; also, that the beauty of the ware produced by him was "unequalled," and much sought after by collectors.

Mr. Marryat says:—"The opaque china (of Swansea) became remarkable for the beautiful painting of birds, butterflies, shells, and other objects in natural history, drawn from nature by Mr. W. W. Young."

Mr. Chaffers says of the "opaque china" produced at Swansea, that the draughtsman was Mr. W. W. Young, who delineated birds, insects, and flowers beautifully.

These are, surely, sufficient testimonies of men who, from personal observation of the work done, from "expert" knowledge of the same, or from reading and study, were convinced of the truth of the judgments which they had formed of the abilities of the old potters and artists of the porcelain period at Swansea and Nantgarw.

MARKS.

IT is of importance, for obvious reasons, to know how to distinguish what is valuable or otherwise in purchasing old china. In so doing, not only the amateur, but even the expert and connoisseur may be deceived. Why? Because of the close imitation of the "body," the decorations, and even the marks themselves. These imitators are clever—so clever that indignant dupes have dubbed them as "pirates" and "forgers." Some factories, like Worcester, have a great number of marks and monograms, which are characteristic of the history of the particular works. The porcelains of Nantgarw and Swansea have but few marks. There are, however, other modes of recognising the quality or identity of the ware. To the amateur who has merely a fine sense of taste and a corresponding high appreciation of art, all its attributes fill his eye and brain with satisfaction. It matters little to him about other considerations. But the collectors of ceramics—the dealer and the connoisseur have an additional standard to go by. It is that of education —a knowledge of technique of the art, whatever it be. Hence it is they who fix the market price. It is necessary for them to know the proper marks of factories, the mannerisms of the artists, and the quality of the ware itself. Let us consider these "marks" in regard to our chosen theme—Swansea and Nantgarw Wares.

In the sheets or lists annexed to this section I have given, for Swansea, 1st, a few marks from Chaffers' "Guide

CUP (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY T. PARDOE.

to Collectors," and his "Marks and Monograms"; that is, only those not mentioned in No. 2 list, which is more extended and descriptive; 2nd, a number taken from the "Catalogue of British Pottery and Porcelain," at the Jermyn Street Museum, London; 3rd, as many as I have discovered myself on private collections; 4th and last, the marks on Nantgarw ware. In No. 3 there are one or two repetitions of those in the previous lists, but that does not matter. The student can easily distinguish what he wants to compare. The great point is to get at the true from the false in the porcelain section. In the case of the other bodies there is no fear of forgeries, because there is no pecuniary inducement. It will be seen in the list of Swansea china—so far as the marks are concerned—that there is only one false one given; that is, wherein fluoric acid has been used to imitate the red script of "Swansea." In the Nantgarw list there is only one false mark given, and that is distinguished by the different style of the Roman characters. But, as was said before, marks must not be relied upon entirely. The other considerations of "paste" and "decoration" are the safest guides, if experience has been acquired sufficiently. Especially is this so when we consider that a large proportion of the porcelain made at Swansea was not marked at all. It will be remembered that so early as 1817, the "pirate" and "forger" had commenced; for Mr. Dillwyn published an advertisement in that year warning his customers that such was the case, and giving a list of his London agents where the true ware was to be procured. In writing to Sir Henry de la Beche on the subject, he makes use of these rather significant words: "The articles made at and marked 'Swansea' include all, I believe, which have a more compact fracture, and the addition of a trident denotes a supposed improvement, which ultimately was not found to answer." Read also what he says to Dr. Lardner

about the use of the Nantgarw stamp at Swansea. The sentence is as follows:—"I believe that all the china with granulated fracture was marked 'Nantgarw.'" That is, the china produced from Billingsley's receipt, which succeeded so well in the London market, and which was made, more or less, during the time he (Billingsley) was at Swansea—1814 to 1817. At the same time there are good grounds for saying that a large proportion even of that, the finest body, was not marked at all. The same remark applies to the Dillwyn receipt—the "improved" receipt with the "compound fracture," which "ultimately" did not succeed in the market. It is distinguished by the greenish hue of the body; some of it is smoky or yellowish, with or without the green tint. Some of it, however, is free from both defects. Much of it is not marked at all. It is a light, but "hard" body; translucent, barring the defects named. A very fair imitation of it has been made modernly in the Staffordshire Potteries, and is sold openly as such. The third body, which may be called "Bevington's," has not that translucent hue which the other two have, according to their degree of it. It is so to a certain extent, like other of the harder British porcelains. It was evidently made more for use than ornament, and much of it was exported, even to America. The very last consignment made by Bevington, and which, doubtless, contained the china as well as earthenware, was valued at £3,000. There was very little of it marked, so far as I can ascertain. It is most easily distinguishable by the peculiar whiteness of the glaze, a whiteness which is not so much "snowy" or "milky" as "deathly," in the impression produced on my mind. The Bevington marks are extremely rare, although my impression is that they—the company formed of Roby, Haynes, and Bevington—produced more china than Dillwyn did. I think so for two reasons:—(1) Because I find that peculiar white china, with its bulky teapots and sugar-basins, more common in the houses I

have visited ; and (2) Because Dillwyn's period of china-making was only three years, whereas theirs was seven. There are only two Bevington marks in the lists herewith. One is on porcelain biscuit in the Jermyn Street Museum collection. Professor Church mentions the piece in his Handbook. He says :—

"Biscuit porcelain of a good quality was made at Swansea Works. There is a specimen of this kind in Jermyn Street Museum—a figure of a ram couchant. The impressed mark on the base is peculiar :—

"BEVINGTON & CO.,
"SWANSEA,

"with the letters

"I.W.

"When porcelain bears the above mark, it very likely belongs to the period 1817—1820."

I would extend this period, and say from 1817 to 1824. The initials I consider are those of Isaac Wood, of Burslem, who was a modeller, and came from Nantgarw to Swansea with Beeley and Walker. There were finer things in biscuit than the "ram" above mentioned done at Swansea. But they were the work of Goodsby of Derby—a flower modeller. A vase of "biscuit" with raised or "modelled" flowers has an illustration herein. It belongs to Mr. Graham Vivian, and Mrs. Iltid Thomas has such another beautiful piece of "biscuit ware."*

With regard to the "marks" on the other productions at Swansea, it is not necessary to say much. They are not so valuable as the porcelain pieces, and the remarks attached to the lists herewith will be nearly all that is required.

The "opaque china," as stated already, was invented by Haynes at the end of the last century. It was ultimately made

* By the way, before leaving the porcelain marks question, I may mention a peculiar piece, which is in the British Museum. It is a lustred mug, presented in 1889, by Mr. W. Crewdson. It is marked "Cambrian," and underneath is written—that it was the first piece of china ever made there. It is desirable that the proofs of this assertion should be stated.

both at the "Cambrian" and "Glamorgan" Potteries. Some of this ware has no mark at all. But, once acquainted with it, there is no mistaking its characteristics. There are probably three or four variants of Haynes' make. The best of it was extremely light in weight, and had some good decoration.

The "Glamorgan" make appears to have been marked "Opaque China," in an eccentric scroll, in colour over the glaze.

Mr. Chaffers, in "Marks and Monograms," mentions a piece of salt glaze ware made at Swansea—probably between 1780 and 1790. It is a jug painted with flowers, and was marked "Cambrian Pottery."

In the British Museum there is a vase of imitation Wedgwood marked "Swansea," and another at Swansea so marked, of which an illustration is given in this book.

On the Etruscan ware there is but one mark, and a specimen is given in the list herein. There was, however, a variant of the "Etruscan" ware on which I have seen no marks. This variant consisted mostly of brackets of terra cotta, in the form of mermaids and tritons, made from the same red clay as the "Etruscan" ware was.

The marks on the Swansea earthenware are more numerous. I have given a number of them (not all, I feel certain) in the list herewith.

The Nantgarw marks are few, and are pretty fully explained in the list given.

It is remarkable that the initials "C.W." under the word Nantgarw (in Roman letters), should so long have been given out by the "authorities" as "G.W."—those (as alleged) of George Walker. Who was George? There was no such man connected with the works. I have proved to the hilt that Walker's Christian name was "Samuel." Besides, if a magnifying glass had been used, it was easily to be seen that the first initial

was "C," and not "G." I agree with Mr. Chaffers that the initials stand for the words "China Works."

The marks in red over the glaze should be received with caution, unless there are other proofs, such as the pattern of the plate, texture of it, or mannerism of some known artist. There are exceptions, of course; such as special pieces, like the instance given herein, painted with a crown, etc.

I was informed some years ago by an experienced "expert" in ceramic matters, that Billingsley sometimes painted his name in a cursive manner among the flowers he was designing on Nantgarw pieces. It was done in such a way as not to be obvious at first sight. I have never seen, or otherwise heard of, such pieces. It would be most interesting to discover them. In some pieces of "Nantgarw" which I have seen there is a script B traced in the "body."

In concluding these observations about "marks," etc., it may be interesting to recall the fact that at Mr. Jewitt's sale there was a cup sold which had been used by Billingsley as a specimen piece. It had various washes of colour on it, with marks and contractions, to show the effect of the mixture, which had been burnt in. Among these marks were:—NL, FOB, FO, WITHCAL.

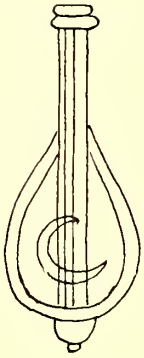
Of course these are of no use to the collector. They are merely interesting as showing the artist's methods, and getting a glimmer of light upon his thought.

The following pages contain the list of marks referred to above:—

No. 1 LIST (SWANSEA SECTION).

EXTRACT FROM CHAFFERS' "GUIDE TO COLLECTORS," AND HIS "MARKS AND MONOGRAMS."

No. 1.



REMARKS.

Mr. Chaffers, in his "Marks and Monograms," says this is probably Swansea (Cambrian) *circa* 1781. It is in a salt-glazed jug, painted with roses and pinks, and which is in the possession of E. Bourchier Savile, Esq.

No. 2.

Cambrian Pottery

Also that this mark is on a salt-glazed stoneware jug, painted with flowers, cottage, etc., in possession of Dr. Diamond.

No. 3.

CAMBRIAN

On an oviform vase of Cambrian pottery, about 1790, finely glazed and well painted with passion-flower, etc., and a butterfly. Is in the collection of Mr. S. C. Hall.

No. 4.

HAYNES, DILLWYN & CO.,
CAMBRIAN POTTERY,
SWANSEA.

This mark about 1802.

No. 5.

SWANSEA

On a porcelain plate in the Franks collection.

No. 6.

DILLWYN & CO.

On a porcelain plate in the Franks collection.

DISH (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY YOUNG.

No. 2 LIST (SWANSEA SECTION).

EXTRACTS FROM THE CATALOGUE OF JERMYN STREET MUSEUM, LONDON.

No. 1.

Cambrian Pottery.

P. 1. Earthenware figure of infant, with basket of flowers painted in colours. Mark in brown.

No. 2.

CAMBRIAN.

P. 2. Earthenware vase; mottled blue body. Mark in brown.

No. 3.

OPAQUE PORCELAIN.
(Stamped or impressed.)

P. 3. Ewer in classic form; Greek figures in white; outlined in black painting on blue ground. Hector (? Paris) and Helen on one side, and Hector and Andromache on the other. (There is some doubt about this piece being "Swansea.")

No. 4.

SWANSEA and letter C.
(Stamped or impressed.)

P. 4. Earthenware dessert dish, with Kestrel painted in centre; name painted on back—*Falco tinnunculus.*

No. 5.

SWANSEA.
(Impressed.)

P. 10. Earthenware plate; white with brown edge. Painted in centre with bladder hibiscus.

No. 6.

DILLWYN & CO.
(Impressed.)

P. 11. Earthenware plate; cream-coloured body; Early black transfer painting over glaze, with flowers in centre.

No. 7.

SWANSEA.
(Impressed.)

P. 15. Cream ewer, in buff ware, glazed inside; decorated outside in relief with female figures—style of Wedgwood and Turner.

No. 8.

Swansea.
(In red.)

P. 21. Porcelain plate, painted with the Hoopee.

No. 9.
SWANSEA and trident.
(Impressed.)

P. 24. Porcelain plate, white border with embossed flowers.

No. 10.
SWANSEA.
(Impressed.)

P. 27. Porcelain dish of oval shape, two handles, embossed border.

No. 11.
SWANSEA.
(Impressed.)

P. 32. Statuette figure of Antony, in black ware.*

No. 12.
DILLWYN'S ETRUSCAN WARE.
(Mark in black, in floriated scroll.)

P. 33. Tazza of Greek form (cylix), in red earthenware, painted with black ground and female figure in red.

No. 13.
DILLWYN & CO., with figure 10.
(Impressed.)

P. 38. Plate; cream-coloured earthenware, printed in black, with brilliant glaze; and British man-of-war in full sail, etc.

No. 14.
BEVINGTON & CO., SWANSEA, and letters I.W.
(Impressed on base.)

P. 39. Ornament; small ram couchant, in white biscuit.

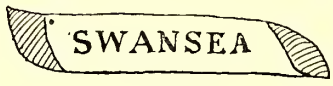
No. 3 LIST (SWANSEA SECTION).

MARKS SEEN BY THE AUTHOR ON VARIOUS COLLECTIONS.

No. 1.
SWANSEA.
(In red.)

On a china plate at Singleton Abbey.

No. 2.



(In red.)

(?) On a cup or saucer (china) at Royal Institute, Swansea.

* Mr. Chaffers, in "Marks and Monograms," states that Mr. Church has it that the figures of Antony and Cleopatra were made by Bentley at Swansea about 1791. I could not trace the name at Swansea in that year, but I found several Bentleys mentioned in the Parish Clerk's register in the second decade of this century.

No. 3.

LAZULI.

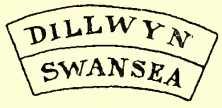
(In a floriated scroll, mark in transfer.) Also a very rough coat-of-arms (? lion and unicorn) stamped in body.

On an earthenware cup and saucer at Mr. Clutton's, Swansea; covered with blue shadings (? in Staffordshire called "flowing blue").

No. 4.

On the imitation Etruscan ware made at Swansea by Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn.

No. 5.



(Impressed.)

Earthenware plate at Mr. Jones', Northampton Place, Swansea.

No. 6.

SWANSEA.

(In red.)

No. 7.

SWANSEA.

(In red.)

The trident was added in 1817 on a paste, a supposed improvement which did not answer; that is, did not succeed in the market. The trident is sometimes upright, and there was also a double one used.

No. 8.

[DILLWYN & CO.]

(Impressed.)

A green dessert-plate (earthenware) at Mr. Hadland's, Bryn Road, Swansea.

No. 9.

(Impressed.)

Earthenware plate at Mrs. Thomas', Mansel Street, Swansea.

No. 10.

Earthenware blue jugs, with Chinese scene in transfer, at Miss Taylor's, Dillwyn Street, Swansea.

No. 11.

SWANSEA.

(In red.)

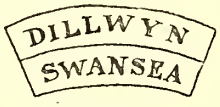
On an earthenware milk-jug at Miss Taylor's, Dillwyn Street, Swansea.

No. 12.

DILLWYN & CO.

On an earthenware plate (Oriental decoration) at Mr. Pollard's, Swansea.

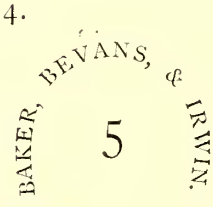
No. 13.



(Impressed.)

On an earthenware jug at Mr. Clowe's, Oxford Street, Swansea.

No. 14.



(Impressed ; 10, in red.)

On an earthenware plate at Mr. D. Williams', Calvert Terrace, Swansea.

No. 15.

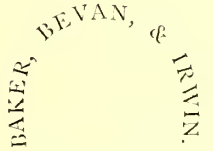
(Printed.)

On a "cow" milk jug at Mrs. Young's, The Hollies, Caerphilly.

No. 16.

Plate of stoneware with Greek dancing girls in centre in transfer, at Mr. John's, Old Inn, Penllergare, near Swansea.

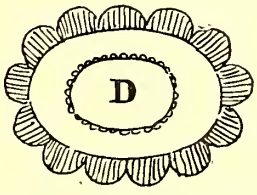
No. 17.



(Impressed.)

Earthenware oval dish at Mrs. Roberts', Tontine Street, Swansea.

No. 18.



(In transfer printing.)

Cup and saucer of Swansea china (Oriental transfer decoration) at Dr. Griffith's, Pontardawe.

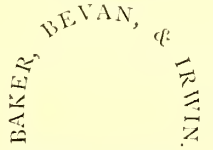
No. 19.

Swansea.
(In red.)

A porcelain plate at Singleton Abbey, Swansea, well painted very floridly and profusely with flowers; probably done in London.

No. 20.

OPAQUE CHINA, B. B. & I.
(In a scroll, mark in transfer)
with following:—



(Impressed in paste.)

Plate of earthenware at Mr. Jones', Hafod Inn, Hafod, Swansea.

No. 21.

SWUNSEA.
(Burnt in with fluoric acid.)

On a porcelain cup seen at Swansea. Evidently a false piece. The spelling is sufficient to condemn it.

No. 22.

SWANSEA.
(In blue.)

Cup of "Opaque China" at Col. Morgan's, Swansea.

No. 23.

SWANSEA.
(In gold script.)

On porcelain plate at Clyne Castle, Swansea; decorated in centre with a Goshawk and landscape.

No. 24.

BEVINGTON & CO.
(Impressed.)

On earthenware dish in a house at Gower. (Information by Dr. Jabez Thomas.)

No. 25.

(In red.)

No. 26.

SWANSEA.
(In red.)

No. 27.

Swansea.
(In red.)

These three marks are on cups and saucers of china at the Royal Institution, at Swansea.

No. 28.

Swansea.
(In brown.)

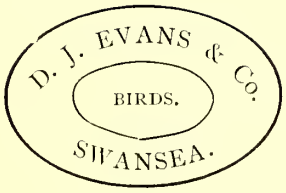
On a cup of finest Swansea china —painted by Baxter—Cupid in basket. Collection of Mrs. I. Thomas, Glan-y-môr, Swansea.

No. 29.

SWANSEA.
(Impressed.)

On china dessert service, painted with flowers—probably by Morris—at Glan-y-môr, Swansea.

No. 30.



(*In blue.*)

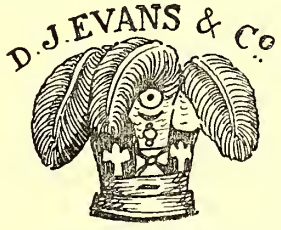
On earthenware jug at Mrs. Jones', Page Street, Swansea.

No. 31.

SWANSEA.

On an earthenware dish, willow pattern, at Mrs. Jones', No. 7, Page Street, Swansea; mark in transfer printing.

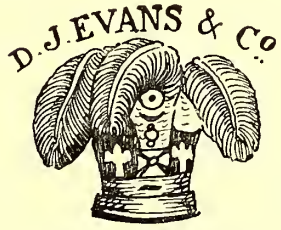
No. 32.



WOODBINE.

On a piece of earthenware dug up at the old Flint Mill, Hafod, Swansea; mark in transfer printing.

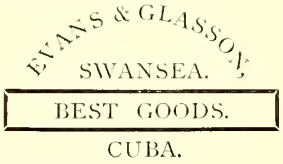
No. 33.



GOOJERAT.

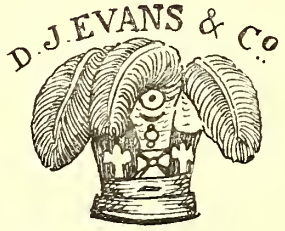
On a piece of earthenware dug up, in 1896, at the old Flint Mill, Hafod, Swansea; mark in transfer printing.

No. 34.

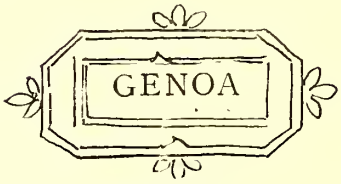


From a copper plate bought, with others, at sale of "Cambrian" stock in 1870, for the South Wales Pottery, Llanelly. This plate (the Cuba) is now at the Royal Institution, Swansea. The middle mark was used by Dillwyn till 1850. The upper one was then engraved and used by Evans & Co. The third mark is a trade mark for use at Cuba. Illustration herein.

No. 35.



This is a similar plate (the Genoa). It is still at the South Wales Pottery, Llanelly.



No. 36.

DILLWYN CO & SWANSEA.

On an earthenware plate at Miss Bevan's, Cadoxton Place, Neath.

No. 37.

OPAQUE CHINA.
B. & B.
4.
(*In transfer printing inside of an oval scroll.*)

On a jug at Mr. Austen's, Caerphilly; decorated in transfer with an Oriental pattern. Probably made at the Glamorgan factory.

No. 38.

SWANSEA.
(*Impressed.*)

On an imitation Wedgwood vase (stonebody) at Dr. Jabez Thomas', Swansea. (Illustration herein.)

No. 39.

Swansea.
(*In black script.*)

On a porcelain cup at Clyne Castle. The Cupid in goblet, by Baxter. (Illustration herein.)

No. 40.

Swansea.
(*In puce script.*)

On a porcelain cup at Clyne Castle. The Jubal cup, by Baxter. (Illustration herein).

THE NANTGARW MARKS.

No. 1.

No. 6.

This is given by Messrs. Jewitt, Chaffers, and others. I have never seen it, nor have I seen anyone who has.

Mr. Chaffers (*vide* "Marks and Monograms") says it appears in red on a jug of Nantgarw china in Mr. Greaves' collection; and on a tea-set painted with landscapes which belonged to Dr. Diamond. It is very rare, if not doubtful.

No. 2.

NANT-GARW.
C. W.

No. 3.

NANT GARW.
C. W.

No. 4.

NANTGARW.
(*Impressed.*)

No. 5.

NANTGARW.
(*In red.*)

These three marks are stamped or impressed, and have been all seen on plates painted by the artists *who were at Nantgarw.* The first and second are alike, excepting the hyphen. The third is a trifle longer than the other two. It seems there were three stamps used at the factory.

On a plate at Dr. Griffith's, Pontardawe. It has a bird on a tree—probably painted by Bradley & Co., London. It has also the well-known embossed bevel, which was so usual at Nantgarw.

The red mark on Nantgarw is regarded by connoisseurs with much doubt.

Therefore, collectors, beware! unless you have other proof.

No. 6

This is a special and unique mark (in puce) on a dish of Nantgarw porcelain belonging to Mr. Morgan S. Williams, of Aberpergwm, Vale of Neath. It is a family relic, and there is no doubt of its authenticity.

No. 7.

NANTGARW.
(*Impressed.*)

No. 8.

(*The same in red.*)

No. 9.

(*The same in gold letters.*)

These three plates are in the Cardiff Museum. The first two are considered by experts to be forgeries; but the third is considered genuine.

No. 10.

NANT-GARW.
C. W.
(*Impressed, and the following in red.*)
DECORATED BY
—SWANSEA—
Hy. Morris.

On a porcelain plate at Singleton Abbey, Swansea; and on a similar one at Mrs. Morris', Montpelier Terrace, Swansea.

No. 11.

NANTGARW.
(*In red.*)

On an earthenware jug at Col. Morgan's, Swansea. Decorated with conventional flowers. No doubt of its genuineness. It would not pay to forge earthenware. Probably a piece potted by W. H. Pardoe after re-starting the factory in 1833.

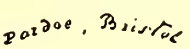
N.B.—The word "impressed" used in the foregoing lists, means *stamped* in the body.

The word "printed" means when copper-plates are used and the mark is *transferred* to the piece, usually over the glaze.

The words "in red," etc., mean when the mark is painted by the brush, or written by a quill pen, or engraved.

A mark has been put on sometimes by the thumb. Where it has been engraved, say, in copper, the colour is swept over the mark, the thumb is placed on it and *transferred* to the piece of ware.

The following are names of the artists who have put them on pieces which they have decorated. They are not signatures. They are reproduced because it is so seldom that named, dated, or signed pieces can be discovered.



This is on the bottom of a cup (*vide* Plate xxv.).

Billingsley
Mansfield

This occurs on a Mansfield cup, which is now in the possession of the Cardiff Museum.

Decorated by
SWANSEA
H. Morris

This is on a Swansea plate (*vide* Plate iv.).

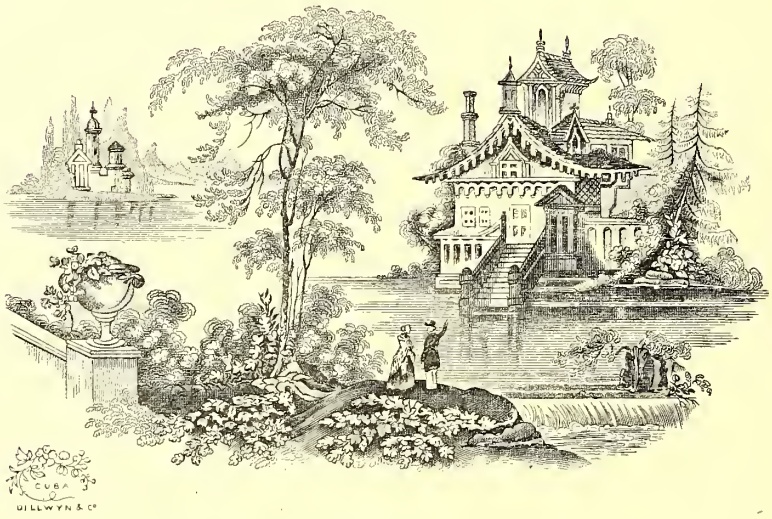


Fig. 1.

SOME COLLECTIONS OF SWANSEA AND NANTGARW WARES.

Public Collections.

THE finest public collection of Swansea and Nantgarw wares is, undoubtedly, that of Cardiff. It is arranged for public inspection in the museum, situated between Trinity Street and Working Street. This collection has been brought together, for the most part, within twenty years, and reflects the utmost credit on those public-spirited men who, with a liberal spirit, have combined the qualities of refined taste and experienced judgment in its selection. It is remarkable, considering the scarcity of the best pieces of these much-prized porcelains, that so much could have been collected together in so short a time. There are about two hundred specimens in the cases—about one-third Nantgarw porcelain; about one-third Swansea ditto; and the other third consists of the so-called "opaque china" and other kinds of earthenware of Swansea production. There are no specimens of Nantgarw earthenware to be seen, as, I suppose, it was not considered of sufficient interest to collectors and ceramic students. As regards the artists, there are specimens of the work of Billingsley, Baxter, T. Pardoe, Pollard, W. H. Pardoe, Morris, Latham, and Young. One of the pieces in the collection is a Nantgarw china plate of the best quality, said to be painted by Billingsley, with a wreath of flowers around the border. The centre is plain. The design is simple, but the whole effect is charming. Pollard

is represented by a small taper-stand, painted with wild-roses and a sprig of germander-speedwell. His style is different from Billingsley's; but his wild-flowers are quite up to that "master's," if he does not approach him in garden-flowers. There is a perforated white basket of the finest paste, but it has been cracked in the kiln; which is a "sign-manual" of the trouble and disappointment the Nantgarw potters had with their "soft paste" materials. It is a "waster," and yet it is valuable as a specimen of their art.

There are specimens of the Etruscan ware—imitated so successfully by Dillwyn at Swansea—in this collection. Also other pieces representing his superior earthenware termed "opaque china"; and specimens of earthenware as well from the Swansea potteries.

At the Royal Institution, Swansea, there are about half-a-dozen specimens of Dillwyn's Etruscan ware; also about the same number of cups and saucers of porcelain, marked "Swansea" in red script. The latter were given by the president, Colonel Morgan, R.E., as a nucleus of a collection, some years ago. It seems to remain a "nucleus," which is surprising considering the prominence Swansea old china has in the ceramic market; and is a great contrast to the spiritedness of the Cardiff Museum committee in maintaining and illustrating the reputation of Welsh porcelain.

In London there are three public collections of Swansea and Nantgarw china, namely: at the British Museum, South Kensington Museum, and at the Museum of Geology, etc., Jermyn Street. The two former are limited in extent; but the latter is more extensive. There are a dozen Nantgarw pieces, but mostly, if not all, painted in London after having been brought up "in the white" from the factory by the dealers of that day. The Swansea division is more extensive, and very interesting on account of the marks, which I have quoted under that section in this work; and which gives some details which it is unnecessary

to repeat here. Altogether there are about forty pieces of Swansea ware—"opaque china," porcelain, Etruscan, biscuit and earthenware.

At the Holburne Museum, Bath, there are a few specimens of "Nantgarw." One is a plate with a horse painted thereon—a presentation plate to the owner of "Poulton," a celebrated stallion.

At the Clifton Museum there are two plates of early "Swansea"—opaque body—evidently painted by Young. They are marked "Swansea" in script, and very like Young's handwriting in his diary.

At Derby Public Museum there is a plate stamped "Nantgarw," usual mark, of good body. It is decorated profusely with roses round the border, etc., by Sims' firm of enamellers in London. It was bought by Robert Bloor in 1820 or 1821 (*vide* Haslem). There is also a curious cup, supposed to be Pinxton body, Mr. Haslem says; but it is marked in red script with "Swansea" and an upright trident. The mark has been traced and the cup refired at a low temperature, but sufficient to blur and obscure the enamelled blue spots of the original decoration, proving the falsity of the piece. This is interesting, as showing how "Swansea" was imitated at one time, and is a compliment to Swansea. At this museum can be seen the famous "Prentice Plate" by Billingsley, and other pieces of "Derby" attributed to him; also some specimens of the flower painting of Moses Webster, who painted on "Nantgarw" when in London.

Private Collections.

IN the course of my investigations, I have been privileged to inspect many very fine collections of both Nantgarw and Swansea porcelains, etc. It would be interesting to give lists of all of them in detail; but this course involves a quantity of

space in this volume entirely beyond what I am restricted to by agreement with the publisher. I can, however, give a list of names of the collectors and, where desirable and convenient, will add a few observations about the more notable pieces. The names and addresses are given first, as follows :—

Austen, Mr., Caerphilly, Glamorgan.
Ball, Mr. J., Mariner Street, Swansea.
Beavan, Miss, Cadoxton, Neath.
Bemrose, Mr. William, Elmhurst, Derby.
Bevington, Mr., North London.
Bolney, Rev. E. W., Sketty, Swansea.
*Booker, Mrs., Southerndown, Bridgend.
Bute, The Marquess of, Cardiff Castle.
Castle, Mrs., Mansel Street, Swansea.
Chambers, Mr., Fairfield, Buxton.
*Clark, Mr. G. T., Tal-y-garn, Glamorgan.
Clayton, Mrs., Derby.
Clothier, Mr., Leigh Holt, Street, Somerset.
Clutton, Mr., Mansel Street, Swansea.
Cox, Mr. Arthur, Derby.
Davies, Mr. D., High Street, Swansea.
Dobbs, Mr., Queen Street, Cardiff.
Drane, Mr. R., Queen Street, Cardiff.
Gibbins, Mr., Melyn-crythan, Neath.
Griffiths, Dr., Pontardawe, Glamorgan.
Gronow, Mr., Calvert Terrace, Swansea.
*Gwyn, Mrs., Duffryn, Neath.
Gwyn, Mr., Langlands, Swansea.
Hadland, Mr., Bryn Road, Swansea.

N.B.—The pieces or collections marked thus * were only seen by me at Cardiff Exhibition, 1896; or the account has been sent to me by correspondents, whose opinion I value, and whom I can trust.

Hafseth, Mrs., Trafalgar Place, Swansea.
Haslam, Sir Alfred Seale, Derby.
Hicks, Mr., Walter Road, Swansea.
Hoban, Mr., Victoria Avenue, Swansea.
*Howell, Mr. James, West Grove, Cardiff.
Hughes, Mr., Richmond Road, Cardiff.
Johns, Mr., Old Inn, Penllergaer, Glamorgan.
Jones, Mr., Hafod Inn, Hafod, Swansea.
Jones, Mrs., Page Street, Swansea.
Jones, Mr. Thomas, Northampton Place, Swansea.
Kidd, Mr., Nottingham.
Lewis, Mrs. E., Mathew Street, Swansea.
*Lewis, Miss, Wyndham, Bridgend.
*Llewelyn, Sir J. T. D., Bart., Penllergare Park, Glamorgan.
Lury, Mrs., Margensy, Clevedon, Somerset.
Mein, Mrs., East Barry, Glamorgan.
Meyers, Mrs., The Mumbles, Swansea.
Morgan, Col., R.E., Brynbriallu, Swansea.
Morris, Mrs., Montpelier Terrace, Swansea.
Naish, Mrs., Walters Road, Swansea.
Pardoe, Mr. T., Nantgarw, Glamorgan.
Pardoe, Mr., Barry, Glamorgan.
Pollard, Mrs., Walter Road, Swansea.
Pollard-Lewis, Mr., L. & P. Bank, Llanelly.
Rees, Mrs., Walter Road, Swansea.
Rees, Mr. W., Neath Road, near Swansea.
Rees, Mr. John, Sketty, Swansea.
Rees, Mr. W. J., Bryn-y-mor, Swansea.
Roberts, Mrs., Tontine Street, Swansea.
Roberts, Mrs., Picton Place, Swansea.
Rogers, Mr. P., De-la-Beche Street, Swansea.
*Schomberg, Mr. Reginald B., East Sheen, London.

Seward, Mr. E., Newport Road, Cardiff.
Smart, Mr., Oxford Street, Swansea.
Swansea, Lady, Singleton Abbey, Swansea.
*Talbot, Miss, Margam Abbey, Glamorgan.
Taylor, Miss, Dillwyn Street, Swansea.
*Taylor, Dr., Queen Street, Cardiff.
Thomas, Mrs. Iltid, Glan-y-môr, Swansea.
Thomas, Dr. Jabez, Christina Street, Swansea.
Thomas, Mrs., Mansel Street, Swansea.
Turberville-Llewelyn, Miss, Walters Road, Swansea.
Vachell, Mr. Ivor, Park House, Cardiff.
Vivian, Mr. Graham, Clyne Castle, Swansea.
*Wheatley, Mr. J. L., Newport Road, Cardiff.
Winstone, Mr., Bridge Street, Cardiff.
*Williams, Mr. Morgan S., Aberpergwm, Glamorgan.
Williams, Mr. D., Calvert Terrace, Swansea.
Wright, Mr., St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol.
Young, Col., Preswylfa, Neath.

These collections are very varied both in extent and value. They comprise the finest specimens of Nantgarw and Swansea porcelain; also Swansea "opaque china," Dillwyn's imitation Etruscan ware, imitation Wedgwood, stoneware (some of it decorated with classic figures), lustre ware (both porcelain and earthenware), and earthenware in very extensive variety, some of the latter very well "hand-painted" indeed with bouquets of flowers. I only saw amongst the lot one veritable specimen of Nantgarw earthenware. It is so marked in red, is decorated with conventional flowers, and is in the collection of Col. Morgan, Swansea. I also saw a number of plaques, or "bats" as they are called by the potters, some with views of Swansea and neighbourhood. One of the finest "plaques" is of porcelain, and is in the collection of Dr. Griffiths, of Pontardawe. It is a battle

scene, supposed to be an encounter of Richard I. with the Saracens. It is a scene of great animation and force. It has come down in Mrs. Griffiths' family, and the tradition is that it was painted by Baxter at the Swansea Factory. There is no proof of this; but who can say "No" to it? Baxter was a figure-painter if he was anything.

Dr. Griffiths has a very large collection which illustrates all phases of the Welsh ceramics, especially that of Swansea, both in porcelain and earthenware.

Col. Morgan's collection is a good one. It is almost unique in this way: that the development of Swansea ceramics can be seen from nearly the inception. Its historic value is great. For instance, he has specimens of the "opaque china" evidently from its first production; some very fine pieces of porcelain; a "Nelson" jug, decorated with portraits of the Admiral and Capt. Berry. There are also pieces which are said to have been made at Swansea after the closing of the china works. One of them is dated 1840, and was said to be part of a service made at the works. One of the choice pieces in the collection is a small oviform vase of good Swansea paste, painted with an eagle killing a snake. The animation of the bird is very decisive, and the "pose" altogether striking. An illustration of it is given in this volume.

I have desired to be very impartial in the mention of collections, and to show the range, I take two by way of contrast. They are those of Mr. Graham Vivian, Clyne Castle; and the other that of Mrs. Eliza Lewis, of Mathew Street, Swansea. In the former case, perhaps, is seen the most extensive collection of old Swansea ware in the world. In the other there were only half a dozen small plates of earthenware, ornamented with rude flowers. But the interest centred in these pieces is because Mrs. Lewis painted them herself at the pottery, shortly before it was closed. She was one of the last of the

female painters employed to decorate earthenware for the market.

Mr. Vivian's collection would take a long time to describe. There are—or rather there were, for some pieces have been destroyed recently by fire, and every lover of art must sympathize with him in his heavy loss—some hundreds of pieces of Swansea ware alone, without enumerating the Nantgarw sets. One of the finest was a dessert-service of forty-five pieces, every one decorated in a most excellent manner with a bouquet of flowers, each bunch being of separate design. Every piece (except one, which happened to be at the Cardiff Exhibition of 1896) was destroyed by the fatal fire of October, 1896. Mr. Vivian writes, under date 31st October, 1896 : "I am sure you will be distressed to hear that the plate at the Cardiff Exhibition is now all that remains of that most beautiful dessert-set which was destroyed, together with my three other dessert-sets, in the fire here." One enthusiastic newspaper reporter valued the set in question at £25,000. That is a long price. Of course if a gem cannot be replaced or surpassed, the value may be placed at any amount that a buyer can afford to give. There is no standard of comparison. But where a thing is gone for ever, there is no assessing its value at all. In this collection there is a fine specimen of ceramic bird-painting. It is a Goshawk. The Cupid in a goblet, by Baxter, is another fine piece ; also the "Jubal" cup, by the same artist ; and the pieces with Billingsley roses in grey. But it would be difficult, as is obvious, to describe the beauties and merits of all of this extensive collection.

Mrs. Pollard, of Walter Road, Swansea, has also an extensive collection, largely of "Swansea," decorated by William Pollard, her father-in-law. One piece of Pollard's work is a plaque, for which a large sum was offered by a collector. It is, perhaps, the gem of the collection.

Dr. Jabez Thomas, of Swansea, has some very fine specimens of Swansea porcelain. One cup is of the finest Nantgarw type, of which I have only seen four specimens: one with Dr. Griffiths, of Pontardawe; one with Mrs. Thomas, of Glan-y-Môr; one with an old boatman, who had it from the factory at Nantgarw; and the one under notice. It is as much like Bohemian glass as porcelain, and when such pieces are seen the wonder ceases at the number wasted by fusion in the kiln. But the unique piece in this collection is the Wedgwood stone-body vase, with "Swansea" stamped thereon. An illustration of it, also, is given, and many collectors will be surprised when they see it.

Mrs. Iltid Thomas, of Glan-y-Môr, Swansea, has a fine collection. One set is a dessert-service, well painted with a variety of flowers, probably by Morris. But one rare piece is a biscuit porcelain vase of "Swansea," with modelled raised flowers, probably by Goadsby.

Mrs. Morris, of Montpelier Terrace, Swansea, has a goodly number of pieces, mostly of Copeland ware, painted by her father-in-law, Henry Morris. One lot is curious, being unfinished and displaying the coloured flowers, etc., before being fired in the muffle.

Mr. Ivor Vachell, of Park House, Cardiff, has a choice collection of about thirty pieces of "Nantgarw" and fifty pieces of "Swansea." About a dozen were exhibited at the Cardiff Exhibition. There were two very fine Nantgarw plates, painted by Moses Webster; one decorated with a vase and bouquet in gold scaling, and which appears as an illustration herein. There were three pieces painted by Pollard: a saucer, a plate, and a taper-candlestick, all of "Swansea." The latter piece is a little gem; also a plateau of Swansea china (cabinet service), well painted by Morris. The other pieces at the exhibition were finely painted, all in flowers excepting a Nantgarw dish, which had a large bird as its decoration.

At Singleton Abbey, Lady Swansea's mansion, there is a good collection of both Swansea and Nantgarw china. One of the gems is a Nantgarw plate, with the usual impressed stamp, painted with rose, passion-flower, auricula, etc., resting on a pedestal. A butterfly, full of animation, has apparently just settled thereon. It is evidently a "Billingsley." Another rare piece is a saucer of Swansea china in green monochrome, with the veronica-chamædris and myosotis, two of the favourite flowers of Pollard, and evidently his work. There is a plate of "Swansea," in imitation of Sèvres style, painted with a "bearded tulip" in a conventional manner.

At Penllergare, Sir J. T. D. Llewelyn has a gem in the shape of a dessert-service, painted by Baxter. It numbers about seventy pieces. The cavetto of each plate has a different arrangement of flowers. The "mannerism" is so distinct that every sceptic of the identity of mannerism in ceramic decoration must be at once "converted" in looking at this service. A representation of one of the plates is reproduced in colours in this volume.

Mr. Reginald B. Schomberg, of East Sheen, London, has a few interesting pieces. One is a mug of reputed "Swansea," with a portrait of Nelson thereon, supposed to be the work of Baxter; also some fine pieces of Nantgarw and Swansea porcelain, with the genuine marks thereon.

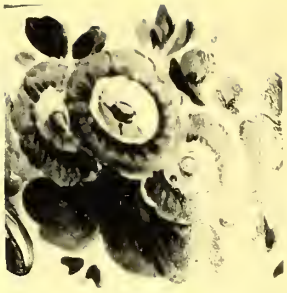
Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, has a few good pieces of Nantgarw and Swansea china. I give the description thereof in his own words, as what he says on such a subject is sure to be interesting as well as instructive. He says:—"I have four pieces of Nantgarw china in all, which, though the painting . . . varies in degree of excellence, Billingsley's inimitable touch is quite apparent. These consist of three plates and a saucer, which furnish examples of his work. In three of these he has introduced a butterfly, all instinct with a nervous vitality very characteristic of

the artist. . . . I have but one specimen of Nantgarw china, painted by some other hand than Billingsley's. . . . It is a white plate, 10½ inches diameter, having a gilt edge, just inside of which is an inclosing blue line covered with gilt hatchings about an inch apart. On the face of the plate are arranged triangularly six small detached bouquets or sprays of flowers, each consisting essentially of three varieties of bloom conventionally treated, and drawn in the three primary colours—red, blue, and yellow, slightly modified here and there with their supplemental tints. The whole effect is cold, formal, stiff, and unpleasing; but the plate interests me because it is an obvious imitation of some Sèvres original; and I possess such Sèvres original. It was given to me by a Mrs. Williams, who considered it "Nantgarw," for it was given to her by Mr. Pardoe himself. I think it probable it was used at Nantgarw as an example to study and copy from. I have only one piece of Swansea china—a plate made in a Nantgarw mould, of the fine translucent Nantgarw body, and with the usual impressed pattern on the bevel. It is painted by a skilled hand, with the wild rose, veronica-chamædris, and wild strawberry, all *with the same foliage*. There is also a myosotis and a lychnis with different, but still incorrect, foliage. The whole composition is the work of one who delineates things he has seen with a practised ability and delicacy, but allows his fancy to run riot without restraint or reason."

The collection of Swansea and Nantgarw china belonging to the Marquess of Bute is scattered over his various residences. I have only seen the few pieces at Cardiff Castle. They are mostly made up of tea-services, which are prettily painted with flowers, and are evidently of the best Nantgarw "body." There are no marks on them. The best of the collection, I am led to understand, was removed to his lordship's town house. There are also about seventy pieces at Mount Stuart House, Isle of

Bute. The best of the general collection, I believe, consists of a dessert-service of the finest "soft paste" Nantgarw, decorated with groups of flowers and insects (butterflies, etc.), probably by Billingsley. There is also a tea-service adorned with wild flowers, with "Swansea" and a trident stamped thereon. This would be made from the receipt prepared by Mr. Dillwyn and his "scientific friends"; and was probably painted by Pollard. There are also a plate of "Swansea," painted by Baxter; one of "Nantgarw," painted by Pardoe; a jug of Swansea "opaque," painted by Young; and a vase of the "Dillwyn Etruscan ware."

1.



2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

THE AURICULA (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY

1. BILLINGSLEY. 2. T. PARDOE. 3. MORRIS.
4. POLLARD. 5. WEBSTER. 6. UNKNOWN.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

COLLOTYPES.

FRONTISPIECE.—This illustration represents a cup of the best Swansea china, copied from the collection of W. Graham Vivian, Esq., of Clyne Castle, near Swansea. The original is decorated in colours, with the figure of Jubal playing on the harp, by Thomas Baxter. The idea, no doubt, is taken from the Scriptures (Genesis iv. 21), wherein it is stated that Jubal* "was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." The artist was essentially a figure painter, and this is a good specimen of his art. Its mannerism has been carefully and successfully reproduced in the collotype. The fact of it being Baxter's work is proved by the tradition in the family, and because of the internal evidence. That is, it has the characteristic touch or style of the artist, and there was no other known painter at Swansea to whom such work could be attributed.

PLATE No. I.—This illustration represents a plate of the best Swansea china, copied from a service belonging to Sir John Talbot Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart., of Penllergare, near Swansea. It is decorated with flowers, the single dahlia, etc., of the period, about 1818, by Thomas Baxter. It is quite a unique style, and is a

* The artist may also have remembered the fine lines of Dryden, beginning:—

"When Jubal struck the chorded shell,
His list'ning brethren stood around;
And, wondering, on their faces fell,
To worship that celestial sound.
Less than a god, they thought, there could not dwell
Within the hollow of that shell,
Which spoke so sweetly and so well."

characteristic specimen of his flower painting. That it was painted by Baxter is undoubted, because the dessert-service to which it belongs has come down in the Dillwyn family from the time it was made; and it is the one mentioned in the pleadings of the suit of Roby and others *v.* Dillwyn, and was reserved for him.

PLATE II.—This represents a cup of the finest Swansea china, copied from the collection of W. Graham Vivian, Esq., Clyne Castle, decorated in monochrome by Baxter, with a Cupid in a goblet. The idea is taken from Anacreon (*vide* the biographical sketch of Baxter in this volume, where the ode is copied at length). This is a pleasing specimen of his skill and imaginative powers. I have seen a replica of this piece at Dr. Griffith's house, Pontardawe.

PLATE III.—This illustration is that of a Worcester vase, copied from the collection of Robert Drane, Esq., Cardiff. It is selected because it is signed and dated by Baxter in 1802. It is, therefore, authoritative, as a sample of his work. The figures are those of Hamlet and his mother, when he says :—

"Look here, upon this picture; and on this."

PLATE IV.—This collotype represents a plate of best Swansea china copied from the collection of Mrs. Morris, of Montpelier Terrace, Swansea. It is decorated by Henry Morris with fruit and flowers, and is signed by him. The artist was father-in-law to the owner, and there cannot be the slightest doubt of its authenticity. In this plate we have a standard by which to study the artist's style, scope, and mannerism. The border seems to be painted by another hand.

PLATE V.—This represents a Staffordshire china plate copied from the collection of Mrs. Morris, of Swansea. It is selected because it was decorated by Henry Morris, *at* Swansea. It indicates the class of work that was done there for many years

after the making of china ceased there. The flowers are very floridly treated, and display the characteristic touch of his energetic hand.

PLATE VI.—This collotype is a reproduction of a saucer of Swansea china copied from the collection of Charles J. Jackson, Esq., Penylan, Cardiff. The original was decorated by William Pollard, of Swansea. Both in the cavetto and on the bevel we have the briar rose in every form of attitude. Pollard was at his best when he painted the wild rose, and in this specimen we have one of his most charming productions.

PLATE VII.—This is an illustration of a Copeland (Staffordshire) china plate copied from the collection of Mrs. Morris. It is selected because it was decorated by Henry Morris, *at* Swansea, after the discontinuance of china-making there. Another reason is that he was a fruit painter more especially; and it is a most characteristic specimen of his peculiar style in that line. The subjects treated are the apple, pear, plums, and currants; let the collector note the short, hard, linear touch in the apple and pear.

PLATE VIII.—An illustration of two small two-handled cups of the finest Swansea china, copied from the collection of W. Graham Vivian, Esq. They are decorated with roses *en grisaille* "in a supremely beautiful manner," says Mr. Drane, who attributes them to Billingsley (compare with Plates xxii. and xxiii.).

PLATE IX.—This plate is formed out of two half-tone blocks. One of them represents the old Cambrian Pottery at Swansea in 1791. It was reproduced from a photograph taken by Mr. Ll. Collwyn Lewis, of Swansea, from a print which now hangs in the Royal Institution in that town. The other block was made from a photograph of the modern Nantgarw Works taken in 1887, in presence of the author of this book, by Mr. John Storrie, of Cardiff.

PLATE X.—A collotype reproduction of a Swansea china cup, copied from the collection of A. Pollard-Lewis, Esq., Bank Manager, Llanelly. The original was decorated by George Beddow, with a lake scene and landscape, and has come down in the family. It is said to be a characteristic specimen of his work.

PLATE XI.—This coloured collotype represents a plate of best Swansea china, copied from the collection of Mr. Drane, of Cardiff. It is selected to illustrate the work of William Pollard, who excelled in his groupings and reproduction of wild flowers. It will be seen at once that they are most daintily treated, and this plate will form an excellent standard of one phase of his painting for collectors to judge by. There is no question of its authenticity, because Pollard has left a large number of specimens with his relatives at Swansea, and Mr. Drane's plate has all the characteristics which they exhibit.

PLATE XII.—This illustration is a combination collotype, copied from two originals to show the influence of the Sèvres school on "Swansea" and "Nantgarw." One is of an ice-pail of Swansea china, copied from the collection of Mr. Winstone, Dealer, Cardiff. The other is of an old Sèvres plate, copied from the collection of Mr. Drane, Cardiff. In the one case we see the mode in which the French artist treated the rose and grouped the flowers, a style which became at one time quite conventional. The other is a close imitation; but, in addition, the artist has allowed his fancy to rove in his treatment of the tulip, which is certainly as much conventional as natural. The name of this artist is unknown at Swansea; but he certainly painted much there.

PLATE XIII.—This collotype represents a Swansea china sucrier, copied from the collection of Ivor Vachell, Esq., Park House, Cardiff. It is decorated in sepia with landscapes, and

is selected as characteristic of some varieties of Swansea ware. Artist unknown.

PLATE XIV.—This is an illustration of a plate of the best Swansea china, copied from the collection of Mr. Drane. It is also one of William Pollard's decoration, and affords the student a specimen of the mode in which he treated garden flowers. Although not equal to his wild rose pieces, the drawing is most carefully done, and the colour is very pleasing and effective.

PLATE XV.—An illustration of good Swansea china, copied from the collection of Col. Morgan, R.E., Swansea. It is decorated with an eagle in the act of killing a snake. The attitude of the bird is striking and fascinating; the drawing is strong and effective, and displays masterly skill. The artist was Matthew Colclough, whose particular *forte* was painting wild birds, with a landscape, shrubs, flowers, etc., as accessories. The piece has been identified by Mr. W. H. Slater, of Stoke, who knows the mannerism of this artist, who was a personal friend of Mr. Slater's grandfather.

PLATE XVI.—An illustration of a vase of the best Swansea "biscuit" china, copied from the collection of Graham Vivian, Esq. It is decorated with finely modelled flowers after the Derby style. The work is attributed to Goodsby (or Goadsby)—a Derby modeller who was at the Swansea China Works, according to Henry Morris. It is a fine specimen of modelling *en bisque*. Mrs. Iltid Thomas, of Glan-y-môr, Swansea, has such another specimen which undoubtedly came from the Swansea Factory.

PLATE XVII.—This is the copy in colours of a plate of the fine Nantgarw china. The original is in the collection of Mrs. Booker, of Southerndown, Glamorgan. A very beautiful example of Billingsley's flowers and butterfly.

PLATE XVIII.—This collotype is copied from a plate of Nantgarw china in the Cardiff Museum collection. It is decorated with

a large bird by some artist employed by Mortlock & Co., London. It is selected to show one variety of the painting on these wares bought in the white and decorated elsewhere.

PLATE XIX.—This collotype is a copy of a Derby plaque in the collection of Sir Alfred S. Haslam, of Derby. The original has been identified as the work of William Pegg (see biographical notice of him). He painted for nearly two years at Nantgarw, and hence its selection as a specimen of his work for comparison if a piece of Nantgarw by an unknown painter should be found. The decoration in flowers is full of force and tastefully arranged. Pegg was a great admirer of Billingsley and his works.

PLATE XX.—This coloured illustration is copied from a dish of Nantgarw china, now in the collection of Morgan S. Williams, Esq., Aberpergwm, Vale of Neath, Glamorgan. It is decorated by Billingsley with flowers and a peacock butterfly perched on one of them. The little creature is instinct with vitality, and seems on the point of flitting. This dish is part of a dessert service inherited from an ancestress, who lived within a few miles of Nantgarw. She ordered the service from the Nantgarw Factory, and used to drive over to see it manufactured. This she told the present owner herself.

PLATE XXI.—This is the copy of a dish of Nantgarw china from the collection of Morgan S. Williams, Esq., Aberpergwm. It is decorated by Billingsley with a bird (the blue-tit) among flowers. The grouping is artistically arranged. The piece has come down in the family ever since it left the Nantgarw Works. It has a unique mark, namely, a crown with the word Nantgarw underneath, painted in puce colour; as to which Mr. Drane makes an interesting suggestion in Appendix B.

PLATE XXII.—This is a coloured collotype or copy of a plate of the best Nantgarw china. The original is in the collection of Mr. Drane, of Cardiff. It is decorated by Billingsley with

the rose, passion-flower, stock, etc., in a very artistic manner. The little blue butterfly is "all alive."

PLATE XXIII.—This illustration is copied from a Pinxton plate which was in the collection of Mr. Drane, who had it from the late Mr. Edkins, of Bristol. He, in turn, I am informed by Mr. Drane, had it from one of the family of Mr. Coke, of Pinxton, where Billingsley was for a few years. The decoration is a group of flowers of Billingsley's painting.

PLATE XXIV.—This is a collotype of a plate of opaque china, copied from the collection in the Museum at Jermyn Street, London. It is similar in body and form to No. 23, and is decorated with a group of flowers. It is marked "Pardoe, *fecit*, Bristol," and is valuable as an identified piece.

PLATE XXV.—This coloured illustration is of a cup of Staffordshire china copied from the collection at the Cardiff Museum, selected because it is an authentic piece, signed or marked "T. Pardoe, Bristol." He painted at Nantgarw in 1821 and 1822, and this piece will serve as a standard of his work. There is a dash about the rose painting which is very effective; but with a carelessness of detail which was characteristic. Observe the antherless stamens of the poppy.

PLATE XXVI.—This is a plain collotype of a dish of Swansea porcelain copied from the collection of Miss Wyndham Lewis, Bridgend, Glamorgan. It is decorated with the rose-acacia by Wm. W. Young. After his manner the name of the flower is duly recorded on the back of the dish. It is selected because Young's work on porcelain is rare, and it will serve as an example of his style of work: naturalistic, not artistic.

PLATE XXVII.—Here we have a combination collotype of auriculas copied from examples painted by six different artists, namely, Billingsley, Webster, Pollard, Morris, Pardoe, and an "Unknown" painter at Swansea. In the beginning of the

century the china painters at Swansea, Nantgarw, Coalport, Derby, etc., were fond of painting flowers *from nature.* The auricula was a favourite, and it lends itself to "mannerisms" of treatment. It is therefore of great interest to study the result of each man's mode of dealing with this particular flower. The idea is Mr. Drane's of having this combination made to facilitate this study by comparison. Notice Billingsley's (1) richness of colour and his stamens; Pardoe's (2), an approach to this richness and absence of stamens; Morris's (3), short, hard, strong strokes, radiating from the centre of the flower; Pollard's (4), the aureole is formed by a broken line of circularly disposed touches; Webster's (5), a truss of blooms crushed in angular discomfort; "The Unknown" (6), a wooden style, the very antithesis of No. 1.

PLATE XXVIII.—Here we have the coloured representation of a plate of Coalport china, and a door-knob of the same. Both were copied from the collection of Mrs. Langford, of Ironbridge, Salop. They were selected because the decoration is that of John Latham, who painted at Nantgarw. They are authenticated by Mrs. Langford, who is his niece. She resided with him and her aunt for years; hence their value in fixing his style. The plate is after his own natural manner; the "knob" is painted *à la Sèvres.*

PLATE XXIX.—This plain collotype is a copy of a jug of Staffordshire ware in the possession of Miss Turner, Madeley St., Derby. It was decorated with flowers—rose, tulip, etc., on a sap green ground—by James Turner, her father, who painted on Nantgarw china in London. It is selected as an illustration of his style, because it is identified. Miss Hopkinson—the artist's step-daughter—informed me that *she had seen it painted.*

PLATE XXX.—This collotype is of a decoration copied from a Nantgarw china plate in the collection at the Cardiff Museum. The plate is painted in the centre with a vase in green, containing

PLATE (HALF SIZE) AND DOOR KNOB (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY LATHAM.

a single, delicately-formed rose. It is either one of the original service made for George IV.—when Prince Regent—or a close copy of it. It was painted by Billingsley in his earlier (or Derby) manner.

PLATE XXXI.—This illustration is copied from a Nantgarw china plate in the collection of Ivor Vachell, Esq., of Cardiff. It is richly decorated with flowers by Moses Webster, a Derby artist who painted Nantgarw pieces in London.

PLATE XXXII.—This is a collotype combining two rare specimens of Billingsley's undoubted early mannerism. One is from a plaque in the collection of F. Walker Cox, Esq., Breadsall, Derby. It is decorated with roses in the artist's finest manner. Its identity is provable. It came down in the Hancock family at Derby. One of them, George, was associated with Billingsley in business. It was purchased by Mr. Cox at the sale of the late Mr. Sampson Hancock. The other piece is a copy of the famous 'Prentice Plate, painted by Billingsley for Duesbury as a pattern for the boys at the Derby factory to learn from. It was decorated with small roses in wonderful variety of position, showing the artist's powerful fancy and clever manipulation. The original is now in the collection of the Derby Museum. There is no question or doubt as to its identity.

PLATE XXXIII.—This collotype represents a plaque in the possession of Mrs. James, of St. Helens. The decoration is a group of flowers painted by either Evan Evans or David Evans. The weight of evidence is in favour of the former; but there is no certainty, excepting that it was by one or the other, the piece having been in the family since it was painted at Swansea. Mrs. James received it from her mother about the year 1860. Mrs. James is grand-daughter of Evan Evans. The decoration on this plaque is obviously in the same style as Pollard's. Note the putting in of the white Burrow's rose in the centre of a mass

of colour (the artistic balance being destroyed by the duplication of the rose), and the association of the myosotis, wild strawberry, and veronica chamædrys, exactly in Pollard's method, but with a touch and treatment different from his. The treatment of the roses is strikingly inferior to Pollard's.

OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIG. 1.—This is a reproduction of a copper-plate used at the "Cambrian" Factory, Swansea. It has a printed or "transfer" decoration which was called "The Cuba pattern." There were many "transfer" patterns used, and this is selected as a specimen. The copper-plate of *this* pattern was used by both Dillwyn and Evans. Their names are separately cut on it, and also the trade mark of a Spanish firm (their consignees) at Cuba. There was a large trade in copper ore at one time between Swansea and Cuba, hence, a considerable export of pottery wares took place as well. The other half of the plate (a replica) has the other trade marks on ; see "Marks" section, No. 34.

FIG. 2.—This illustration represents a plate of Derby china of the "Duesbury puce-period." It is copied from the collection of William Bemrose, Esq., Elmhurst, Derby. A similar plate is in the collection of Sir Alfred S. Haslam, Derby. Both plates have the "Crown Derby" mark in puce thereon. There are also two private, or it may be painter's marks, namely, the numbers "7" and "v" (? evidently meant for the small Roman numeral for 5). According to Jewitt, Billingsley's number was "7" at the Derby factory at one period. The decorations are groups of flowers arranged in a most original and artistic manner, beautifully painted in low tone. Both gentlemen are enthusiastic collectors of rare china, and both attribute the decorations, which are very similar, to Billingsley.

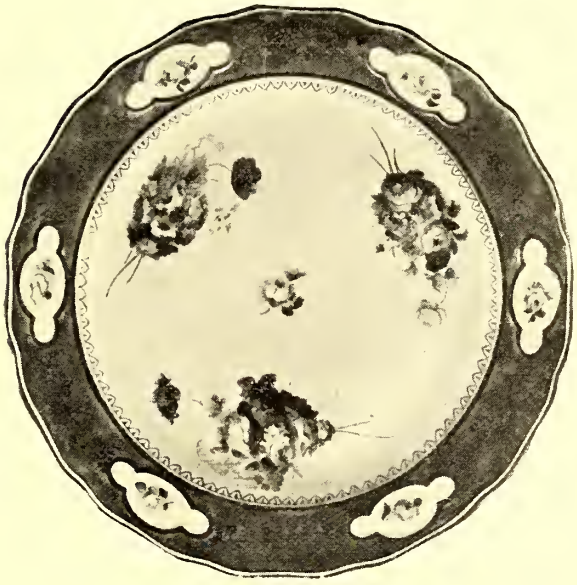


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.—This illustration is reproduced from a photograph of a tazza of Dillwyn's Etruscan ware. It has a "transfer" decoration of Greek dancing-girls in the centre or cavetto. The illustration is a side view of the piece which is in the Royal Institution Museum at Swansea. The tazza was made from the red clay of Penllergare.

Fig. 4.—This is the same tazza taken from another point of view. It was tilted to show the central decoration.

Fig. 5.—This illustration is of an amphora, but which was made from another or greyish clay, probably as a trial. The "transfer ' decoration is that of an old Greek warrior battling with griffins. The reverse panel has a sketch of a warrior and chariot, the same as on fig. 7. The original is in the Royal Institution Museum, Swansea.

FIG. 6.—An Etruscan amphora made from the red clay. The decoration is that of a warrior contending with Amazons. The original is in the Museum of the Royal Institution, Swansea.

FIG. 7.—This is a similar amphora of the same ware from the same collection. The decoration is that of a warrior with helmet in hand, standing alongside his horse and chariot. Probably it is a representation of Hector before departing for the field of battle.

FIG. 8.—A *fac-simile* of the mark used upon the Dillwyn Etruscan ware.

FIG. 9.—This is the copy of a photograph of a vase of imitation Wedgwood stonebody, made at the "Cambrian" Factory, Swansea. It is stamped "Swansea". The original is in the collection of Dr. Jabez Thomas, Swansea. The decoration consists of amorini, chariot and horses, etc., in relief. It is difficult to fix the period of production. Henry Morris says that a Coalport potter tried to make porcelain there before Billingsley went to Swansea in 1814, and failed, but made a "stonebody" instead. I found, in the houses of their relatives, specimens of a similar "body"—small trial-pieces—made by James Hinckley and Eli Ball, managers at the "Cambrian." The opinion seemed to be that they were made about the "thirties"; but that there was probably no market found for such pieces. Artistically, the vase of which the illustration is given seems a success, whoever designed and made it. Such a specimen is exceedingly rare, and the fact that it was made at all will probably surprise most "Swansea" collectors.

It will be found in scanning these pages that the identity of the work of the leading artists who painted at Swansea and Nantgarw has been proved almost to the hilt. Some pieces are signed, some have been proved by the testimony of persons,

and the remainder by tradition, mannerism, or style. So far as I can judge, after the most careful inquiry, there are none of the first rank men yet to discover. Time will tell, for in the course of a few years some other inquirer may start up and complete the investigation. The pieces signed were by Baxter, Morris, and Pardoe; those which have been established by personal testimony were painted by Pollard, Pegg, Latham, and Turner; for the rest, the testimony founded on tradition or style is too strong to be resisted: of such were those by Billingsley, Beddow, Young, Webster, and Colclough. I am writing of the leading painters who were identified. The pieces by the three last-named men have been recognised, or they are identified by other known pieces. In Beddow's case we have strong family tradition; and in Billingsley's case two pieces are authenticated —the 'Prentice plate and Mr. Cox's plaque—by somewhat similar testimony which is stronger still. There are, however, other pieces attributed to him, and they vary from the authenticated type. Of such are Fig. 2 and Plate XXII., etc. The original of Fig. 2 belongs (as already stated) to Mr. Bemrose, and a replica of it to Sir Alfred S. Haslam. They attribute their pieces to Billingsley although they vary from the traditionary type. I cannot say they are wrong and have accepted the specimen tentatively. The original of Plate XXII. belongs to Mr. Drane. His long study of ceramics, his minute acquaintance with the characteristics of china painters, and his keen critical faculty, I value and admire. He says he feels certain that his plate was painted by Billingsley, although it varies somewhat from the type seen in the 'Prentice plate, and Mr. Cox's panel. I have not sufficient knowledge and experience of the artistic side of ceramics to dispute his opinion, and I accept it. I have explained, in another part of this volume, how I was led to take up the question, and have stated that my *forte* lies in

the literary and historical section. Mr. Drane has been my principal adviser in the artistic division in choosing the pieces for illustration, and in debating about the merits of others which have been excluded. I have stated as clearly as possible the grounds upon which pieces have been selected. Students and collectors can very well see which particular piece rests upon historic fact or on the opinion, merely, of a connoisseur. They can judge, accordingly, when other such pieces are offered to them.

Passing to the general question regarding the mannerism of ceramic artists *en bloc*, it appears to me to be a difficult thing to determine it under certain circumstances ; but in others it is comparatively an easy task. It is difficult because it has been the custom to merge their individuality in that of the factory they have worked for. It is so different from the artist who works on canvas, and generally "works for his own hand." The ceramic artist, too, has to imitate styles and paint for the market. His work is very much at the mercy of the "glost" fireman. Another phase of the question is the modification which has taken place in the *modus operandi* of his art during the long period of over a century with which we are dealing. There is the change from sketching the object first in outline, and which change was inaugurated by Billingsley himself more than a hundred years ago. There is the various ways of colouring the "soft" or "hard" glaze, the treatment of reflected colours, etc., which has given quite a new school to this branch of art. It would take an "expert" to discuss this matter properly. I therefore turn to the other view of the question, namely, that in certain cases it is easy to recognise the style of such men. A talented man, well educated in his art, cannot help developing individuality. He only wants the opportunity. A ceramic artist gets it when he is asked to paint an ornamental piece. It is then that he throws off all imitation of others and displays his own natural mannerism.

Such was the case with Baxter when he was asked to paint Sir John Llewelyn's beautiful dessert-service. Compare Plate I. (Baxter's flowers) and Plate II. (Morris' flowers). Both are ornamental pieces painted on fine Swansea china, and each shows an individuality which is conspicuous and *easy* to decide.

But I will not labour this part of the question. My good friend, Mr. Drane, has promised to write an explanation of the question. It will appear as an Appendix to this work, and I have no doubt it will be both exhaustive and suggestive.

To him, I have said, I am indebted for much help in this long labour ; and especially for the selection of the pieces illustrated as a Guide to Collectors. I must also acknowledge the skill with which they have been imitated by Mr. Terry, the artist for the publishers. He has thrown the whole of his sympathies into the work. He has caught up the "mannerism" of each piece in a very clever and striking way. Under his superintendence the reproduction, in a combination of lithography and collotype, has been effected in a very skilful and successful manner by the lithographic department of Messrs. Bemrose & Sons. To the combined labours of these gentlemen I am much indebted for enabling me to produce a volume, not only as a History of Ceramics at Swansea and Nantgarw, but a safe Guide to Collectors of the porcelains of those places, by means of a scheme of illustration which is entirely new to the literature of Ceramics in general.

APPENDIX A.

The Etruscan Ware of Wales.

THE plastic art has a long, long history. It is amongst the oldest of the arts. One of its most interesting phases is the so-called Etruscan. This word is quite conventional, nevertheless, and is only applied because of the discovery, during the eighteenth century principally, of numerous specimens of the Greek vase, etc., in the province of Etruria. It is estimated that about 40,000 amphoræ, hydriæ, and other Greek forms of the potter's art are stored in European museums. About 5,000 are in the British Museum alone. It is no part of this article to give a long account of this phase of the potter's art in Greece; but it is necessary, as a preliminary of what follows, to point out that the Greeks excelled in form rather than in colour. It remained for the Italian Renaissance to develop the art of colour. But the art of form may be claimed for the ancient Greek as his own peculiar domain, in which he stands unrivalled to this day. The Greek potter, after many centuries of development, took his place as an artist and a genius. To him even "the blind old man of Scio's Isle" paid his poetic *devoirs* in his famous poem of "The Furnace," beginning:—

> "Pay me my price, potters! and I will sing:
> Attend, O Pallas! and with uplifted arm
> Protect the oven," etc. (*Cowper's Translation*).

The Greek potter carried his art of form to such perfection that all subsequent attempts to follow him are only successful in

approaching his elevated status. He did not confine himself to imitate nature, but created conventional forms of his own. He even divided his art into as many as nine different styles. According to Jacquemart, the Etruscan only approached the Greek style at the last epoch, almost on the threshold of the Christian era ; he says that their first conceptions were barbarous.

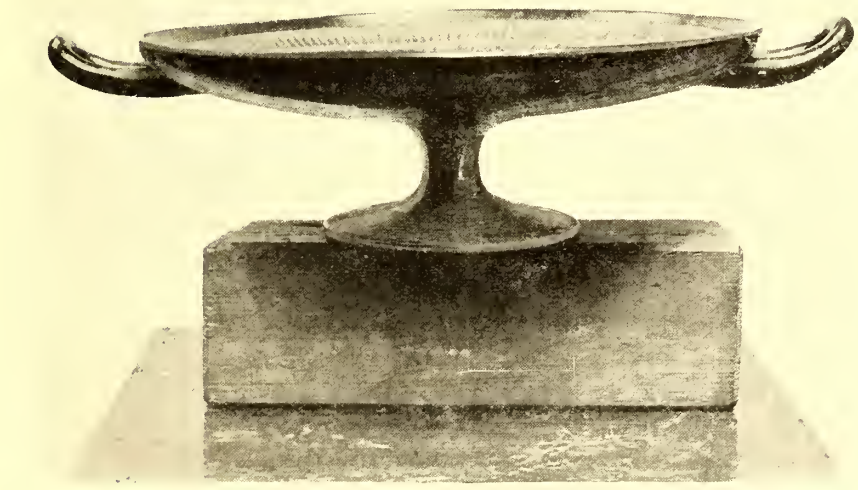


Fig. 3.—Tazza with Dancing Girls, Royal Institution, Swansea. Side view.

Be this as it may, not only the Etruscan but the moderns have imitated the Greek almost slavishly. Perhaps the greatest and closest imitator was Josiah Wedgwood. His Portland vase is historic ; and his jasper ware, in turn, has had endless imitators.

One of the so-called "styles" of the Greek potters was a *red* earth or clay, relieved by mouldings in bas-relief on friezes

representing animals, processions, etc. Another "style" was the so-called Italo-Greek vase with *red* paintings. It may have been a combination of the two which suggested the manufacture of the "Dillwyn Etruscan ware," of which a few specimens are to be seen in the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London. The

Fig. 4.—Tazza with Dancing Girls. View of Inside of Bowl.

clay of which these specimens are made was accidentally discovered on the estate of Penllergare, a few miles from Swansea, which belonged to a member of the Dillwyn-Llewelyn family. The late Mr. Lewis Llewelyn Dillwyn was the managing owner of the "Cambrian" Pottery at Swansea in the "forties." That

Pottery had made its mark in the artistic world of ceramics by producing one of our finest British porcelains, beautifully decorated, for a period of ten years—1814 to 1824. Mr. Dillwyn, in the year 1840, attempted to get Mr. Brameld, of Rockingham, to go to Swansea to revive the glories of the porcelain period, but failed to induce him to do so. He had also endeavoured, under his own *régime*, to make an imitation Wedgwood ware. He succeeded admirably in producing vases, etc., *à la* Wedgwood, with figures in bas-relief as good as the originals. But there was no money in it.

The production of pottery and porcelain wares must be divided broadly into two kinds—artistic and commercial. It was so even in the palmy days (for art) of old Greece. The dividing line is more emphatic now than then, as many a British potter has found out to his cost. Dillwyn was one of this "army of martyrs." As long as he stuck to earthenware for commercial and domestic purposes he was right; when he went in for art-pottery he was pecuniarily wrong. In porcelain, in Wedgwood ware, in Etruscan ware, it was one and the same result :—

"True it is, 'tis pity; pity 'tis, 'tis true."

The Greek potters paid Homer to sing them a song in praise of their art. He did so. It was a capital advertisement for them, and they could afford to pay the great poet. The Elector of Saxony supported the potters at Dresden. The King of France did the same for Sèvres. But when the Chelsea potters and the Nantgarw-cum-Swansea potters asked our Government for assistance they were refused. Our rulers do not patronise art; why should the people? Hence Mr. Dillwyn got no support from the public, and the manufacture of the Etruscan ware was dropped. At least this was the explanation given by Mr. Dillwyn's son to a

friend of the writer's. The manufacture was suggested, as already stated, by a "find" of rich, red clay. Experiments were tried with other clays, but did not succeed. In conversing with

Fig. 5.—Vase with Warrior in Chariot, Royal Institution, Swansea.

one of the "old hands," it appears that it was only after repeated trials that the "Etruscan ware" was finally successful, even with the red Penllergare clay. The persons who were

Fig. 6.—Vase with contest between Amazons and Warrior, Royal Institution, Swansea.

primarily responsible for its production, and who took personal and artistic interest therein, were—Mr. L. Ll. Dillwyn, Mrs. Dillwyn, Mr. Hinckley (their manager and scientific potter),

Mr. W. Clowes (modeller), and Mr. Stanway Brown (engraver). These names are worthy of preservation, because, after repeated trials, they produced a good sound body of really artistic form. It was another edition of the Greek type. These vases are now comparatively rare, and command much higher prices than formerly. As time advances that price will increase, for it is not at all probable that, in our country, they will be produced again in the same degree of excellence. The art of the potter in our land is too much a struggle with the market ever to reach its highest range of development.

The manufacture at Swansea of Etruscan ware only lasted for about three years, and was closed some forty-seven years ago. Interest in it at Swansea has recently been revived by the fact that the drawings relating to the same have been acquired by "The Royal Institution" of that town. Mr. Lewis, the curator, recently called the writer's attention to them; and, by kind permission of the courteous president (Col. Morgan, R.E.), a few notes of their contents were permitted to be taken. They may be summarized as follows, as there is not sufficient space in this magazine for all the details :—

20 Lithographs of old Greek forms.

30 Tracings of ditto.

41 Original drawings from the antique, some being marked as from the Vatican; some from the Etruscan Room, British Museum; and others are unmarked.

3 Patterns in tissue paper.

5 Patterns in cartridge paper.

20 Original sketches in oil, etc. One is a sketch of Dover Castle, and is dated 22nd Feb., 1850. One is an outline of a head, with watermark "C. Willmot, 1820." Others have various watermark dates between those years.

In the 41 drawings from the antique there are some with instructions how to proceed, *e.g.* :—

"ETRUSCAN-TAZZA.
Size of original.
(Bacchus and Satyr—818 D, case 61 Brit. Mus.)"

Some instructions are in a lady's handwriting, and some in that of a gentleman.

It appears that both Mr. and Mrs. Dillwyn were adepts at either brush or pencil ; and that they were in the "Etruscan" days frequently seen at the Pottery. One room was familiarly known by the workpeople as "Mrs. Dillwyn's Room."

The most striking drawing, perhaps, of all is that of Apollo (Helios) driving a chariot and four horses—"the horses of the sun." Lampetia, his daughter, is appealing to him against Ulysses, who with his ship's crew (being driven by hunger) have taken possession of the sacred herds of Apollo and are killing them. There are vases marked as taken from the Vatican. Another is that of Dancing Girls, as painted on a Tazza now in The Royal Institution, Swansea (see Figs. 1 and 2). Another is that of Paris escaping with Helen in a quadriga drawn by four horses.

In addition to the drawings there are a number of the vases in The Royal Institution Museum. They are all made from the red clay of Penllergare, save two of them. One of the most interesting is a trial piece, evidently of white clay, having the figures printed or transferred on a bluish ground, with the panels painted in black. The transfer print on one side is that of a Greek warrior battling with griffins (see Fig. 5) ; and on the reverse is the figure of a warrior standing by his chariot, holding his helmet in his hand as if saying farewell. It is probably meant for Hector before departing for the field of battle in front of Troy.

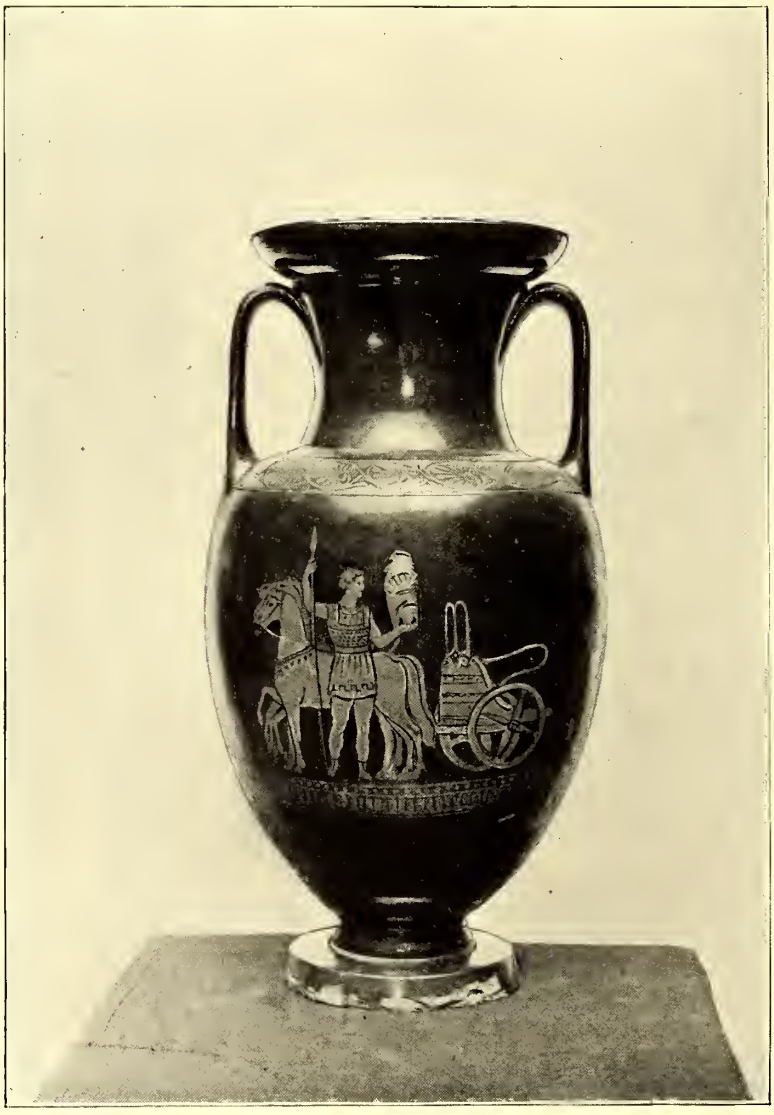


Fig. 7.—Vase with Warrior and Chariot, Royal Institution, Swansea.

The form of the vase is an amphora of graceful shape, not one of those pointed at foot to thrust into the sand, but one for domestic purposes, to stand on any hard substance.

The two vases (Figs. 6 and 7) represent two other amphoræ, but without the ornamental scrolls. They are made of red clay, and with black paint on the surface around the figures, which are represented in red—the natural colour of the clay. Fig. 6 represents a contest of a Greek warrior with Amazons ; Fig. 7 has the figure of Hector (?) again, as mentioned above.

The mark used for the Swansea Etruscan vases is shown on Fig. 8.

Fig. 8.—Mark on Swansea Etruscan Vase.

In concluding this short sketch it may be *apropos* to mention the reflections thrust upon my mind by the incidents related. They are, first, that it is well we should have men like Dillwyn, and women like his clever and amiable wife, who, even at the risk of pecuniary loss to themselves, hold up the banner of love for all that is lovely in art, whether it be of form or colour. Second, that the ancient Greek desire to inspire men with a high ideal of physical as well as moral beauty—for it is often forgotten that the two are correlatives of each other—is not yet dead. May it revive again and again. Thus, the Dillwyns and the Wedgwoods will live once more in the body and spirit of ancient Greek life, re-incarnated, so to speak, in the love of and embodiment of modern art, even in the art of the potter.

As an addendum to the foregoing, it is of some interest to know that not only did the Swansea potters imitate Etruscan ware, but other varieties of the classic and antique. This fact is

barely known even to collectors and connoisseurs of Swansea ware. Dr. Jabez Thomas, of that town, has a fine vase,

Fig. 9.—Imitation Wedgwood Vase belonging to Dr. Jabez Thomas, of Swansea.

2 ft. 6 ins. high by 1 ft. 2 ins. diameter at the shoulder. It is an imitation of a Wedgwood stone-body. It is decorated in

basso-relievo with *amorini*, a figure holding a cornucopia, a team of horses ; but the driver and chariot behind have unfortunately been broken off. An illustration of the vase is seen in Fig. 9. It will be observed that the form and decoration are eminently classic, and that a high degree of excellence had been obtained in the reproduction of this phase of ancient Greek art. At what period of the history of "The Cambrian" Pottery this description of "potting" was produced it is difficult to say. From what I can gather, the bulk of the evidence is that it was in the "thirties" some time. Specimens are very rare, and it is all but impossible to get exact information regarding the period of production. There is no doubt, however, of it being "Swansea," because it is so stamped in the clay, or stone-body.

W. TURNER (in *The Reliquary*, April, 1897).

APPENDIX B.

Mannerisms by which the Different Artists who Decorated the Swansea and Nantgarw Porcelains may be identified.

By ROBERT DRANE, F.L.S.

NANTGARW.

AS by far the larger proportion of this porcelain met with in the market was not painted at Nantgarw, and some of that which is so-called and so marked, both in red and by the word "Nantgarw" impressed in the paste, was not made there, and as some of it has been quite recently painted, gilt, and re-fired, it seems clear that the buyer's best guarantee against the purchase of entirely spurious, or but half-genuine, examples is the knowledge of the styles and mannerisms of the different artists who are known to have been engaged at these works, and who can be identified beyond any reasonable doubt. Such peculiarities are far more trustworthy evidence of genuineness than any "Marks," or, in some instances, than the paste itself can be. The object of this chapter is to make this apparent, and it was with this end in view that the pieces chosen for illustration were selected. These selected pieces are intended to demonstrate each painter's peculiarities of touch and treatment, and where he has more than one style, which is usually the case, to place examples of each in juxtaposition for comparison and study. In the

JUG (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY J. TURNER.

production of the illustrations a watchful supervision has been exercised to preserve these characteristic differences, so that they shall be easily and distinctly visible. Mr. Terry—who prepared the plates—has grasped and entered with enthusiasm into this view of their *raison d'être*, and has attained success, except where success is simply impossible by any process of reproduction—I mean in rendering the living sap and bloom which are to be found in the flowers of one particular painter. It must never be forgotten that all but one of these painters had more than one distinct manner, for there are many illustrations of intermediate degrees and of both manners being used in the decoration of one piece, combined in the composition, and yet individually distinct. There are, again, other pieces painted by one artist in deliberate, but by no means fraudulent, imitation of another ; in which case the ability to detect the peculiarities of touch, which he cannot lay aside, is very serviceable in determining the individual hand. And again, there are other examples in which one painter decorates the centre of a plate and another its border ; or a vase may be painted with flowers on one side, and a landscape on the other, by different men. If such a vase happened, however, to be painted on both sides by Baxter, one with figures in his *usual*, the other with a landscape and flowers in his *unusual* manner, few persons would allow that the two sides could be one man's work without the most incontestable evidence (see Frontispiece and Plate I.) ; and then the value of a critical discrimination will be obvious (*i.e.*, " Jubal " and Flowers).

Now, Mr. Turner, with a conscientious and indomitable pertinacity of which I am incapable, has hunted down the artists engaged at Swansea and Nantgarw, and has laboriously refused to accept as history unsubstantiated traditions. In following his conclusions I consider that the collector will be on assured ground. I have many times watched him at work, and his

authority is good enough for me. At Nantgarw he has found that the following painters have worked at different times, and his given dates have been carefully verified. These dates are of the utmost importance in the formation of a conclusion, and therefore the reader should keep them very clearly in his mind, for, unless he does so, paralysing uncertainty or error will result.

1. William Billingsley or "Beeley."
2. John Latham.
3. William Pegg.
4. William Weston Young.
5. Thomas Pardoe.
6. W. H. Pardoe.
7. Lavinia Billingsley (William Billingsley's daughter).
8. (Miss) Hewitt (daughter of Hewitt, the thrower).
9. (Mrs.) Betty Singleton (wife of Singleton, the turner).

Of these, William Billingsley, or as he was familiarly called and called himself, "Beeley," is the most important and interesting figure. In him and his work the greatest difficulties converge. No positive evidence of identification between them is forthcoming. It is wholly circumstantial; but circumstantial evidence is good evidence when it is complete. Apparent contradictions abound. The safest path will be by a process of exclusion, verified data, admitted facts, and the internal evidences of a style which, if it be not his, is that of another of whom there is no trace. Billingsley was admittedly the best of the Derby china painters. Billingsley was undoubtedly at Nantgarw. Let us follow him and date him. In developing my own conclusion I hope to avoid dogmatism, and shall continually keep in view the objections of those who differ from me, sincerely desiring that no personal conviction may blind me to the value of their opinions. Billingsley's career, so far as it concerns us, commences with his apprenticeship in youth at the Derby China Works in 1774,

and ends when he finally left Nantgarw in 1819. On leaving Derby he went to Pinxton, where he was from 1796 to 1801; then at Mansfield, 1801 to 1802 or 1803. Next at Torksey till 1808, whence he went to Worcester from 1808 to 1811. From Worcester to Nantgarw, 1811 to 1814; thence he went to Swansea, 1814 to 1817, in which year he returned to Nantgarw and remained till 1819, when his works were acquired by Young, and he (Beeley) agreed to join Rose, of Coalport, whither he and his secret—never, thus far, fully divulged—went in that year, when, so far as he and it are concerned, the history of real Nantgarw china making ceased, after a troubled existence of less than five years.

When Rose had removed Billingsley and his secret to Coalport, W. W. Young became possessed of all the white porcelain then left ready for decoration, and with a modified receipt for the beautiful body which Billingsley had produced there, continued the making of china at Nantgarw till Oct. 28th, 1822, with Thomas Pardoe as foreman. Thomas Pardoe first went to Nantgarw in Feb., 1821, the works were finally sold up in Oct., 1822, and Pardoe died in July, 1823. The works stood tenantless for eleven years, that is, until W. H. Pardoe re-opened them in 1833 for the making of pipes and coarse earthenware. During the interval he had been engaged at Neath and Cardiff in decorating china bought "in the white," some of which seems to have been obtained from Swansea, just as his father before him had been at Bristol, when and where it is *possible* he might have painted some Nantgarw obtained in the white. It is not likely because of its more expensive character, and if he had done so he would hardly have supplied the Glamorgan families who had advanced money to support Nantgarw, and when it was in possession of the field. When the Works were finally sold up in 1822, W. W. Young went to Stoke Prior on a new venture,

which promised better success than china-making. This is the epitome of history, and we are in a position to deal with its painters, dates, and data.

Artists have a canon that only an artist can appreciate an artist, so as to differentiate his merits, and that the mere amateur, such as I, doth but pourtray the fool who ramps where angels lightly tread. This is something like saying that only the cook can duly appreciate the pudding. Perhaps so, but my Philistine congeners have a rough and ready way of expressing their appreciation and capacity to differentiate, in coin, and have formulated another canon—that the proof of the pudding lies with the eater. This is a method greatly disliked by artists, who retort that I cannot distinguish a copy from an original. I confess it, but reply that my appreciation of the original is the origin of the copy. Cats ignorant of analysis know good milk.

In 1811-1812, a flower-painter, admittedly the best of his day (as to whom a Philistine agent prayed Mr. Duesbury, of Derby, not to allow him to depart from him), with the secret of a most beautiful porcelain body, started a small china factory with a small staff, and still smaller means, at Nantgarw. Who painted its products, and who bought them? That flower-painter was William Billingsley, during the whole of whose time at Nantgarw we hear of but two other artists there besides himself—Latham and Pegg, and they were there only from 1817 to 1819. These two are capable of identification with their works, and their styles differ essentially from that of the beautiful pieces found amongst the County families of Glamorgan much more frequently than anywhere else. The further we get from Glamorgan and Glamorgan associations the rarer and rarer do the examples of this particular variety become (see Plates VIII., XVII., XX., and XXII.). They were not painted by Latham or Pegg, who did not

come to Nantgarw till after Billingsley's return from Swansea in 1817 (see Plates XIX. and XXVIII.). I say Billingsley painted them because he was the one other artist at Nantgarw, and because of their unusual beauty. Some of my friends do not see the excellence of this painting, which they say is that of Thomas Pardoe. Billingsley *finally* left Nantgarw in 1819. Thomas Pardoe was *first* employed at Nantgarw two years afterwards, 1821 (see Young's Diary, quoted at page 162). The Works were closed in the following year, 1822, and Thomas Pardoe died July, 1823. Billingsley was there five years and Thomas Pardoe eighteen months, the latter portion of which time must have been paralysed by the approaching collapse of October, 1822.

I shall return to the further consideration of this matter, with the sternest intention of true purpose, when I come to speak of Pardoe, lower down. In the Cardiff Museum is a Pinxton Plate which is here figured No. XXIII. Mrs. Booker, of Southerndown, has an extremely beautiful example of the same artist's work on Nantgarw (see Plate XVII.); and I another (see Plate XXII.). Mr. Graham Vivian, of Clyne Castle, Swansea, has four pieces by this same artist on Swansea china (see Plate VIII.). No one can deny the identity of manner of these various pieces which some persons claim for Pardoe, and I for Billingsley. Billingsley was at Pinxton, 1796 to 1801; Pardoe was not. Billingsley was at Nantgarw from 1811 to 1814, and again from 1817 to 1819. Pardoe was not there till after Billingsley had been gone two years. Billingsley was at Swansea from 1814 to 1817; Pardoe was not. Who painted these pieces identical in style at three different places where Billingsley was known to be, and where Pardoe as certainly was not? If not Billingsley, it must have been someone who painted at three places where Billingsley admittedly worked, but who yet has left in none of them tradition, hint, or history. Beside the

pieces just named, there are others of the same singular beauty in the Cardiff Museum ; at the Ham, near Cowbridge (Mr. Nicholls) ; Coedriglan (Mr. Traherne) ; Aberpergwm (Mr. Morgan Williams) ; Cardiff (the late Mrs. John Lloyd) ; St. Fagan's (Lord Windsor has or had from the Van, Caerphilly), all in Glamorgan ; and Mr. Rickards of the Priory, Usk, Mon., has a most admirable example. There is no mistaking this style ; once seen and appreciated it can never be forgotten. This painter, and the beauty of the porcelain body, had fully established the repute of Nantgarw china before Thomas Pardoe was heard of in connection with it, and who did not appear on the scene till two years after this artist had left it. Had this artist failed in five years to supply all these persons with his wares, and Thomas Pardoe succeeded in eighteen months ? It was Billingsley and not Pardoe whom Rose, of Coalport, found so formidable a rival that he bought and swallowed him and his secret. If the artist who painted these beautiful pieces and supplied them to gentry of the neighbourhood was not Billingsley, Billingsley is a myth, and Pardoe a reality who does not appear until after *the* reality had become real. Yet Pardoe has his strenuous advocates. While Billingsley was at Nantgarw a service was made for the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV. This service was of very simple character, white, "with a green vase in the centre of each piece ; in each vase a rose, and every rose different." The style of the roses is quite different from that of those on the pieces I claim for Billingsley. Who painted them ? I say Billingsley, because he having, like other painters, different manners, reverted in these pieces to that in which he painted the "'Prentice Plate" (now in the Derby Museum) and Mr. F. Walker Cox's panel. There is a specimen of these pieces given as an illustration (see Plate XXXII.). I cite this instance lest I be held to suppress a point which might tell in favour of the Pardoe theory.

I would here call attention to a fact which may be of importance in this question. A royal service was made some years before Pardoe first went there. Dreams of Nantgarw becoming a royal china works are likely to have haunted its proprietors; and, I suggest, the painted crown and word "Nantgarw" on Mr. Williams' dish (see Plate XXI., and Mark 6, page 254) are a contemporary expression of that dream. If contemporary pieces, painted in the style of this one, which I assign to Billingsley, cannot be Pardoe's, those persons who reject Billingsley must find the painter. Who is he? Latham? Pegg? Young? Impossible! and no others are traceable.

In the neighbourhood of Nantgarw are found many pieces remarkable for their excellence and the uniformity of their manner, which I attribute to Billingsley; others to Pardoe. Billingsley was at Nantgarw about five years, and established a great repute, so that everyone desires specimens of his work. Pardoe was his contemporary, and painting flowers on earthenware at Swansea (1797 to 1809); on china obtained in the white, and on earthenware at Bristol for a long period (1809 to 1821); and ultimately for eighteen months at Nantgarw (1821-1822). And yet nobody desires or claims to possess examples of his work. His claim to the honours of Nantgarw was never advanced until I endeavoured to reduce the nebulous Beeley to a concrete form. Get away from the vicinity of Nantgarw, and there are museums and private collections claiming to possess specimens of Billingsley's work, and which are boldly labelled with his name; bring these pieces together, and their hopeless incompatibility is manifest. Scarce two of them have even a superficial similarity, and they aggregate nothing in common except their claim. Given so many examples, proved almost so many different painters, all variations of style being allowed for; why is the uniformity here where Billingsley was familiarly known, and the disparity

where he was not? Why was Pardoe's work, familiarly known here, not known and sought for where Billingsley's is desired and claimed? In that uniformity hereabouts (Cardiff) there is an interior analogy which constitutes the pieces an unmistakable family. Its most successful imitator was Thomas Pardoe, who may have copied it upon the white china made and left at Nantgarw by Billingsley, though it is not likely that it was sufficient for two years' consumption. Remember the date, 1821, and recall the quotation—"The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Now let us separate the hands and the voice, and assign each to its owner.

In the Cardiff Museum is a Pinxton plate painted with flowers in a remarkable manner (see Plate XXIII,). The petals of the tulip have the very sap of life in them. The rose has the soft bloom of youth, and floats in being, not by the agency of his brush, but by the painter's volition. Mr. Graham Vivian, of Clyne Castle, Swansea, has four pieces of Swansea china painted with roses in monochrome by the same hand, which is unmistakably seen on many pieces of Nantgarw, and which were painted at each of these factories where Billingsley was, and where Pardoe was not—verify dates. Pardoe was not at Swansea during the porcelain period, and Beeley was not there till five years after Pardoe had left. Pardoe was not at Nantgarw till nearly two years after Beeley had left, and Pardoe was never at Pinxton at all. Who painted these pieces at these places where Billingsley was and Pardoe was not? If it was not Billingsley (or Beeley) it was a most notable flower-painter, who has left no trace behind, and yet no man in the history of porcelain ever painted roses as this man did! Whereas the names of all the prominent artists engaged at Swansea and Nantgarw have come down to us, the unidentified painters at both Swansea and Nantgarw are quite unimportant. All those who gave

PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

interest, value, or beauty are now known, and their works can be confidently assigned to each except the best of them all—Billingsley. And why is his claim not allowed? I find at Derby the celebrated "'Prentice Plate," with roses in wonderful variety of form and position, painted by Billingsley while employed there, as a standard for other painters to emulate. It is so much injured by long-continued use that its original beauty can scarcely be realised without the assistance of an uninjured specimen of the same hand, a small, flat, rectangular panel, in possession of Mr. F. Walker Cox, of the Priory Flatte, near Derby. This plate was frequently copied on Derby and other china, and such copies I have seen, but none that attained its level, unless it be a piece of "Swansea" belonging to Mr. C. J. Jackson, of Cardiff—a small saucer painted with wild roses by Pollard. This is a "copy" only in idea, not in imitative verisimilitude. The "'Prentice Plate" and Mr. Cox's panel may be accepted as correctly rendering Billingsley's style at the time they were painted—a style which, so far as my experience goes, finds expression at Nantgarw only on the Prince Regent's service and replicas of its pieces. This style is wholly different from that which I assign to him at Nantgarw, Swansea, and Pinxton, and I may be asked to account for this sudden change—I reply that there was no sudden change; or, to reconcile them—and I say they require no reconciliation. A great change took place in Billingsley's manner before he left Derby, and now I remember with regret not having bought an example of this development of his style, which was offered me many years ago, and which I cannot now trace. It was a vase about 2 ft. 6 in. high, perhaps more. Its size and price combined to deter me. In its decoration Beeley was seen revelling in the very height of his power on a piece large enough to give that power scope; he paints it as if mad with delight and conscious capacity. There is no place here for the small finished

academic roses of the "'Prentice Plate" period. He had discovered the largeness of his power, at some expression of which he seems almost uniformly afterwards to have aimed, and so produced that second manner so well illustrated by the Pinxton plate (Plate XXIII.). But he did occasionally revert to his smaller style, as when he painted the Prince Regent's service at Nantgarw. Place these together, the Pinxton and a Regent plate, and, without their context and connecting links it is difficult to believe them the products of the same hand. Let me again refer the reader to Baxter's two manners (Frontispiece and Plate I.), and I shall deal with other instance further on, and remark that divergences of manner in good painters are differences of excellence; in poor ones, they are varieties of defect.

Now, I have said that Pardoe's most notable manner is that in which, with *considerable success*, he imitates Billingsley. His work, however, has the defects inherent in a copy. It catches the superficial resemblances and fails to grasp the spirit, spontaneity, and vitality of the original. We have a number of pieces signed "Pardoe, fecit." The best of these, imitating Beeley, is a cup and saucer in the Cardiff Museum, and the cup is reproduced here (Plate XXV.), as the nearest approach to the master's style obtainable, and yet I have never seen a specimen of Pardoe's work assigned to Billingsley in any public or private collection. It is drawn with its handle to the left in order to shew the rose and poppy. I have the fellow cup and saucer in my own possession. There were then four pieces to choose from and if my intention had been to disparage Pardoe, my cup would have been excellent for that purpose; but the piece chosen is the least likely of the four to injure him. Billingsley paints a rose, Pardoe copies, but misses the vitality, sap, and bloom. Compare the above cup and the Pinxton plate

(Plate XXIII.). Billingsley represents a butterfly so alert as to excite an instinctive fear that it will take wing before it can be caught. Pardoe copies, but suggests the entomologist's cabinet, where everything is dead and the sensitive antennæ are dry and bent. Billingsley paints a poppy and, within artistic limits, gives its capsule and stamens correctly ; Pardoe copies, with an amorphous green patch for capsule and formless strokes of colour for stamens without anthers. Compare the poppy on this cup with that on the Pinxton plate. In the Jermyn Street Museum are two companion plates ; one of them marked L. 37, is signed "Pardoe, fecit, Bristol" (Plate XXIV.), in its centre is a group of flowers, in the production of which every touch of the brush can be seen. The effect is thin, hard, and cold. It is a copy of Billingsley. The other plate is not signed. It is painted with a passion flower and lilac, in so stiff and matter of fact a way as to suggest that they were taken from a book illustration, and the illustration exists as a loose paper in the Pardoe sketch book. This plate *might* have been chosen to exhibit Pardoe's mannerism. No man of great original power would be a copyist of this order. No copyist of this order could produce anything so original as the roses I ascribe to Billingsley. Pardoe was born at Derby in 1770 ; married at Swansea, 1797 ; left Swansea in 1809 ; painted at Bristol on china obtained in the white, and on earthenware between 1809 and 1821, when he went to Nantgarw.

These Jermyn Street plates, then, were painted between 1809 and 1821, when Pardoe was from thirty-nine to fifty-one years of age ; are they indicative of a great flower painter at from forty to fifty years old? Billingsley's repute, as such, was established before the earlier of these dates. An extant sketch book, which undoubtedly belonged to Thomas Pardoe, and to his son W. H. Pardoe, is serviceable in justifying the estimate of Pardoe's

abilities given above; but as to the individuality of the two men, it is of questionable authority—pencilled initials in the same hand have been added to the drawings long since their execution, for at this moment they have a fresh look. There is not a trace of originality of thought or power in any of these drawings, while some of them are to be excused only on the plea of early youth. The roses on Pinxton, Nantgarw, and Swansea, which I ascribe to Billingsley, are distinctly the original work of a man who drew his inspiration from nature with a loving familiarity; yet these roses are not botanical portraits, for they are idealised by artistic instinct. They are carefully true to nature within certain limits, and where violence is done to nature, from the botanist's standpoint, in transgressing these limits, it is done by giving them an artistic quality quite inconsistent with a rigid adherence to their natural forms.

Another instance of this idealisation of natural forms is seen in Pollard's treatment of the wild *briar* rose (see Plate XI.). We shall come to the consideration of this point in its proper place; but in both instances the artist deprives the tulip and the stock of their thick, straight stems by reducing them almost to lines, curving them as they are not curved in nature, and idealising the flowers so as to add a gracefulness for which there is no natural warranty. Billingsley and Pollard had no masters; they are characteristically original. The Pardoes had no originality; they are characteristically copyists. This, however, is not quite so true of Pollard as it is of Billingsley, for in a certain department of his art Pollard assuredly copied Billingsley, and did so with a success which is conspicuous, and yet not servile. Billingsley's treatment of the rose and Pollard's of the briar rose are their own creations, in which they have no competitors, and, in my own personal opinion, no equals. In both it is unnatural and bewitchingly artistic. Each will have his enthusiastic admirers, who will

possibly be violently opposed to each other. I love them both as creators, if of different ranks. All true art creates—it does not copy ; the copyist does not create, *ergo*, he is not an artist. Rhymed metre is not poetry. In the Cardiff Museum there is an ever-increasing aggregation of examples which will exercise the critical capacities of students, and as to which the last words have yet to be said, and the ultimate facts determined.

William Pegg (the younger), a Derby flower-painter of excellence, was engaged at Nantgarw from 1817 to 1819. A graphic account is extant of his trudging it all the way—a weary, footsore traveller. A verified example of his work on the Derby body is known, and a reproduction of it is given at Plate XIX., as a standard of comparison in case a piece of Nantgarw turned up which corresponded with it in the treatment of the flowers. I am, up to the time of writing, unacquainted with any illustration of this artist on Nantgarw.

John Latham, a Coalport artist who was engaged in decorating at Nantgarw. Here is another instance of a painter employing two extremely different styles. One of these was the stiff, naturalistic rendering of flowers, with something approaching to botanic precision ; for which reason some might be led to attribute such of his works on Nantgarw to W. W. Young. But the manners are very different. Latham painted flowers as a trained decorator, for effect, and Young as a conscientious plant portrait painter. Latham's other manner was that of a copyist of the Sèvres style. A plate (No. XXVIII.) represents a door-knob in the Sèvres manner, which is that in which he usually painted at Nantgarw, and of which there are specimens in the Cardiff Museum. The rest of this illustration represents a plate painted in his naturalistic flower style. These are both from well-authenticated specimens of his work, which have been in the possession of his niece ever since they were painted. She was

then a very little girl, and was fond of watching her uncle at work. On one such occasion he gave her the knob because, the order being for a dozen such, thirteen were made to provide for a defective one ; this was supernumerary, and for that reason given to the child.

William Weston Young painted flowers, insects, and landscapes, at Swansea first, and later at Nantgarw, after Billingsley's departure. His method—for he seems to have had but one—was to represent the object honestly as he saw it, almost exactly true to nature, as if for illustrating a book on botany or natural history ; but as a decoration for porcelain it is without artistic merit. His manner is seen at Plate XXVI., and examples of it, both on Swansea and Nantgarw, are not at all infrequent. They usually represent some one plant, not a composition of plants, of full natural size, occupying, somewhat inadequately, the whole field of a plate or dish ; or, if the piece be a sucrier, for instance, some smaller plants will be found disposed singly on the dish each side of the body, and also of the cover, with the names of each conscientiously attached. His work, once understood, can never be confounded with that of any other painter at Nantgarw or Swansea. If he painted a stock or a tulip he would give each its thick straight stem—there is never a trace of idealisation or imagination. He was a very honest painter, devoid of artistic faculty.

We have thus far been dealing with men who, painting at Nantgarw, had each his very distinct individual style, and therefore whose works can never be confounded with each other. The only others of whom we have any evidence are :—Lavinia Billingsley, Miss Hewitt, and Betty Singleton (who need not detain us), W. H. Pardoe, unimportant because indistinguishable, and his father Thomas Pardoe, who, though he copied Billingsley with some success, had no definite personal style, because he

was a copyist. It therefore now remains to indicate that which distinguishes him from his master.

Thomas Pardoe, whose work alone amongst the artists employed at Nantgarw can possibly be mistaken for that of Billingsley, may be differentiated from him by a hurried and careless manner of rendering details, and by the absence of that wonderful touch which could produce a flower without leaving the mark of his brush. In the critical examination of any given piece, look for the rose. Billingsley's roses come into being as if by inspiration, the brush is only inferentially employed: it must have been used, but there is no trace of a single bristle. Billingsley, doubtless, often painted under duresse, and he has left us examples which do him no credit—indeed, they are most discreditable. Who does himself credit under the strain of financial difficulty, hurry, disappointment and domestic suffering? These are the causes, at times, of the difficulty of distinguishing between his poorer work and that of his imitator. Within artistic limits Billingsley will correctly represent the pistils and stamens of his flowers; Pardoe will employ scratches and lines of colour which represent nothing but pretence and a meretricious effect—see his poppy, next the handle of the cup (Plate XXV.). Compare, in this respect, Billingsley's rendering of the white flower (Plate XVII.), the pistil of his tulip, the capsule and stamens of his poppy on the Pinxton plate (Plate XXIII.), and his living butterflies, with the same elements in Pardoe's work (signed cups and saucers), and the distinction will start into distinctness. Then, try to find an instance of Billingsley copying from anything but nature, and that in an artistic and not a mechanical spirit, and you will fail.

I have now finished with the painters of whom there is any evidence at Nantgarw, and tried to indicate the characteristics of their styles. But if a collector, wishing to possess himself of a perfectly genuine example of Nantgarw, tries to make a given

piece conform to the standard here indicated, he will probably fail in many cases because the great bulk of the Nantgarw in the market was not painted by any of these men ; for it was bought "in the white"—for the softness and beauty of its body—by the London dealers, who there had it decorated by a great many different china painters, who neither conform to these rules nor lend themselves to classification, much less personal identification. Buy twenty pieces of Nantgarw paste in London, and you will have almost as many painters. Examine the same number of pieces which you can see, but not buy, in the County houses of Glamorgan and Monmouth, and you will find almost without exception, if not recently acquired, that they may be easily assigned to known Nantgarw artists by the characteristics insisted upon in this chapter. I shall now enter upon another field of investigation in considering the mannerisms of the artists employed at Swansea to paint its porcelain, and in which the task of discrimination is much easier. Here, at least, are no amorphous blobs of colour by one painter doing duty for roses as pourtrayed by another. This will not take us so long.

SWANSEA AND ITS ARTISTS.

THE following artists painted Swansea china whose works can be identified with certainty and their peculiarities pointed out :—

Billingsley (or Beeley), William.
Pollard, William.
Baxter, Thomas.
Morris, Henry.
Young, William Weston.
Colclough, Matthew.
Beddow, George.
Evans (? Evan or David).

There were others of a lower type, thus far unidentified, the most noticeable of whom is the inventor of the "Bearded Tulip" (see Plate XII.), but their work is far from excellent, and for the practical purposes of the connoisseur may be left out of consideration. A practice also prevailed here of amateurs obtaining pieces in the white, painting, and returning them to the works to be fired. These may puzzle the inexperienced buyer a little; they should not do so much, for their amateur character is obvious, and their "mannerisms" are not those of the known artists. A few pieces also occur—genuine "Swansea"—of a very dense body, hardly to be called "china," and painted at Swansea by unknown artists. They represent an attempt to make porcelain there before Beeley and Walker's advent.

Billingsley. This artist has been sufficiently dealt with previously. His work on Swansea is rare, but an illustration of it is given at Plate VIII., Mr. Graham Vivian's.

Pollard, who was the most notable and most prolific of the Swansea painters, is remarkable for his highly idealized treatment of the briar rose, which ignores Nature with a charmingly artistic result (see Plate XI.). He is also fond of the "Burrows rose," as it is locally called *(rosa spinosissima)*, the myosotis, speedwell *(veronica chamædrys)*, and wild strawberry, which two last he will naughtily represent with precisely the same foliage! He has a trick of representing the Burrows rose as the light centre of a mass of colour from which other flowers radiate. But he has another and very different manner when he distinctly imitates Billingsley, with marked success, in his treatment of the stock—a success so great that his fellow-workers accepted it at once as the work of his master. I heard this story told Mr. Turner (substituting Morris's name for Pollard's). These traditions get misapplied when age with memory plays false. Morris's style is so utterly different from Beeley's that I cannot imagine their work

being mistaken the one for the other. In Pollard's case there are instances in which it is easy. When he represents "garden-flowers" his idealism forsakes him, and he becomes academic: the buoyant inspiration of the natural artist dying into the fixity of the copyist. Nevertheless,

> "You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,
> But the odour of roses will cling to it still."

Let us dwell a little on this stock. I have said that, in the case of this flower, he rivals Beeley—separate this flower from its floral context and it is wonderfully like Beeley's; add his rendering of the auricula and the rose, and I know that the painter is not Beeley. The stock might be Beeley's, but the auricula and rose certainly are not. Thomas Pardoe realised a superficially excellent copy of some other artist, whose auricula he very nearly rivals, whose rose he approaches, whose stock he cannot touch. Pollard imitated this same "other artist," and realised his stock, but could not reproduce either his rose or auricula. Who was this artist? I say Beeley. These two painters both imitated a third, for it is not likely that Pollard, Beeley's admiring pupil, would copy Pardoe, the whilom earthenware painter, when his master's work was before him, whose stock he can successfully imitate, and which Pardoe could not. I say this third artist whom they both imitated was Beeley, for Beeley not only painted at Swansea, but taught painting there to others engaged at those works. He, the present, admitted master; Pardoe, absent and not a noted painter—which would Pollard imitate? Beeley, of established fame, present at Nantgarw; Pollard, not yet "inventus"—which would Pardoe copy? Yet both obviously copied the same painter; one, Pollard, realising his stock, failing in his auricula; Pardoe, nearly equalling his auricula, but failing in his stock. If this same artist was not Beeley, who was he whom both copied, but who—if not Beeley—has left nor trace nor history behind? Pollard's wild

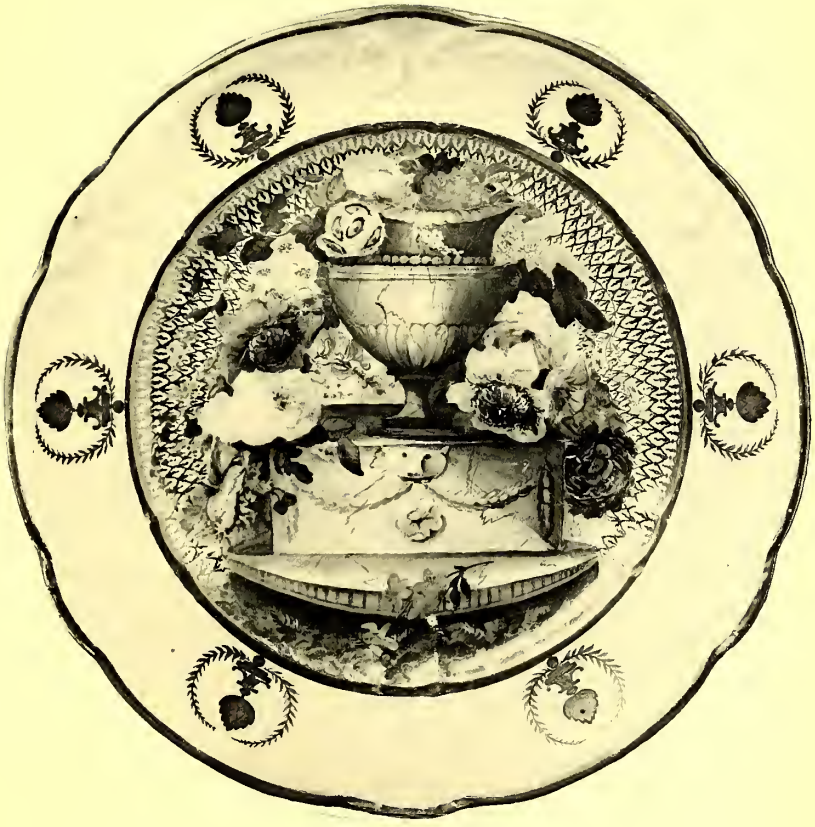


PLATE (HALF SIZE) PAINTED BY WEBSTER.

flowers, however, were his own. In them he copied no one, but drew his inspiration from nature, witness his artistically unnatural briar rose (see Plate XI.); his central, white "Burrows rose," surrounded by a mass of colour and other flowers; his veronica with strawberry leaves; his strawberry with veronica leaves; and his myosotis with its own. And then see him seriously rendering the briar rose *naturally*, as in Mr. C. J. Jackson's exquisite little saucer (see Plate VI.), in which he rivals Beeley's *early* excellence.

Morris. Morris was a good flower-painter, and, next to Pollard, the most prolific of the Swansea artists. He imitated Pollard as Pollard imitated Beeley, but with a wholly different touch.* That touch was peculiar to himself, and consisted in short, hard lines instead of soft, broad masses. It is very marked in his auricula, in the aureole of which it becomes almost cuneiform; short, sharp wedges, radiating from the centre (see Plate IV.). In his fruit it is so softened as almost to produce the effect of stippling, but the short, sharp stroke is visible even in the cheek of his peach (see Plate IV.). Morris did not invariably employ this short, hard line, for I have seen peaches painted by him in which the *dot* replaces the *line* in a rather coarse kind of stippling. Morris painted flowers and fruit; I think Pollard painted no fruit. At any rate, I have never seen any fruit by Pollard. I have said that Morris imitated Pollard. So successfully has he done this that many examples of Morris's flowers might readily pass for Pollard's, but for that sharp, hard line which is so generally present in Morris's work. These copies may puzzle others as they have puzzled me.

Baxter. This painter is differentiated from all other Swansea artists by his figure subjects, all of which, so far as I am

* "But Pollard was some years younger than Morris!" I know it. My memory is hazy, but I think it is Mr. Gibbins, of Neath (Glamorgan), who has a dessert service painted by Morris in imitation of Pollard, which puzzled me very much at first.

acquainted with them, have a classic character (see Plate II.)—"Cupid drowned in a tumbler of wine," from Anacreon; "Il Penseroso," from Milton; "Hamlet upbraiding his mother," from Shakespeare (see Plate III.). But he had a second and absolutely different style—flowers and landscape—so different, that without historic evidence it would be held to be quite inconsistent with his classic style (see Sir J. T. D. Llewelyn's plate, Plate I.), where I must leave him in the hands of the anatomical critic, with a prayer for his well-being and a conviction of his safety.

YOUNG. Little need be said of this painter, whose work is found on Swansea ware and both Swansea and Nantgarw porcelain, but that it is honestly representative of the thing represented. He is sufficiently dealt with among the Nantgarw artists above.

COLCLOUGH, a bird painter at Swansea, and a good one—from the artist's standpoint, which is a false standpoint if common sense is to define that standpoint. He pourtrays impossible birds beautifully, so that one of his fellows said that he painted "rale fedders"; but still, if fine feathers make fine birds, they do not necessarily make "rale" birds (see Col. Morgan's example, Plate XV., in which the eagle's bill opens down to the middle of its throat, and its tail is provokingly out of drawing).

BEDDOW. Here, again, is a painter with two styles—styles so divergent that, without historic evidence, they would seem inconsistent. He painted arms well and landscapes badly; arms so well that they may be called excellent, landscapes so badly that he had better not have attempted them. There are vases painted by Pollard with flowers in front and Beddow's landscapes behind. In the Cardiff Museum is a beautiful plate with arms in the centre by this painter (?), and upon its bevel green vases, like those on George IV.'s Nantgarw service (see Plate XXX.), filled with flowers by Pollard.

EVANS (? EVAN). An authentic specimen of his work has been found since writing the preceding. It belongs to Mrs. James, a descendant of the family. An illustration appears at Plate XXXIII. In the choice of flowers and their arrangement this single piece shows him to be a close imitator of Pollard, whom he follows at a considerable distance. Note the introduction of the local Burrows rose into the centre of a mass of dense foliage, and *its association* with Pollard's other favourite wild flowers—the veronica chamædrys, myosotis, and wild strawberry. The imitation is clear at its greatest divergence, *e.g.*, the myosotis. Pollard painted this flower very frequently, and it is always recognisable, although it is no portrait. Evans copies in such a way that one clearly recognises the origin of the copy, but, without that key, would hardly guess what flower is represented. His veronica follows the same lines, but is not so caricatured, and everyone will see at once his childhood's favourite "Bird's Eye" or "Speedwell."

And now, having conducted the reader through my special department in this porcelain paradise of fadeless flowers, I fear I may have risked the penalty of seeming to pose as an "expert." If so charged, I plead "not guilty," for I have not intended to sin, nor have I consciously sinned. If condemned, I pray for a lenient sentence on the score of "youthful inexperience," for I am still a pupil whose knowledge is very far from complete.

I was once in London with a friend who had recently bought a beautiful water-colour drawing by Girtin of a very reputable dealer; but he was not quite satisfied, and suggested I should go with him to take the opinion of a professional "expert," who was careful to name his fee before giving judgment. Asked whether or not it was a sketch by Turner, he smiled the smile of one surprised at such surprising ignorance as the question betrayed.

"Oh dear, no, but it is a good example of John Smith" (I forget the name actually given), and fluently gave reasons for his opinion. His fee was paid, and we went our way. My friend seemed more dissatisfied than before. After a while he said, "Let us take it to ——, and hear what he says." We went, and went through a similar process. Asked whether the drawing was by "John Smith (?)," Expert No. 2 unhesitatingly assigned it to "Thomas Brown (?)," affirming that "he had rarely seen a more characteristic example of that artist, with whose work he happened to be particularly familiar." His fee was paid, and we went our way. I have that picture now, for, in his disgust, my friend gave it me.

I could give another illustration from my own knowledge (but not without a possible clue to a name of European repute at this moment), in a case in which a very large sum was involved, the expert's error being demonstrated by the presence of signatures disclosed by cleaning. And now, what of the expert? A barrister on the South Wales circuit has formulated his conception of him thus :—

Positive.	*Comparative.*	*Superlative.*
Liar.	Consummate Liar.	Expert.

Gentle reader, am I an expert?

Illustration of the Value of Mannerisms.

On a certain occasion I was offered a Nantgarw plate, which struck me as new-looking. It was stamped "Nant-garw" in the paste, and the paste was right, but my suspicion caused me to examine it closely. Glinting the plate between me and the light I saw a great many scratches upon its surface, indicating a degree of wear inconsistent with its fresh appearance. Looking still more closely, and using a lens, I found that the scratches did not cut through the colour of the painting, but that the painting was

over the scratches, and that its colour filled them up. I noticed also that the edges of the scratches were not sharp, but rounded off, suggesting the appearance of a cicatrised wound. That plate not long before had been a poor, shabby, scratched, and worthless thing, with no more colour of any kind than that given it by the dirt which was lodged in its wounds. This dirt was burned out at a temperature so high as nearly to fuse the glaze, and so soften the roughness of the scratches as to give them the healed aspect. It was then a clean, white plate, with the scratches nearly invisible, nearly healed out of sight, and was painted. If, at that time, I had been as familiar with the styles of the artists painting at Nantgarw as I have since become, I should in a moment have disposed of it thus—"It is obviously not painted by any of these artists, and is therefore not Nantgarw to me." I bought the plate for the Cardiff Museum, where it is preserved as an example of this form of fraud. Shortly after this there was a sale near Gloucester at which I bought for £8 a very richly decorated plate. In the centre was a lovely vignette landscape, and the rest of the surface covered with floridly painted flowers. It was properly marked "Swansea," and the paste was right, being of the variety having the peculiar green tint by transmitted light, from which it is known as the "duck-egg." Subsequent examination betrayed the scratches described in the above Nantgarw instance—the whole of the decoration was recent; and here again, if I had been familiar with the styles of the Swansea artists, this plate would not have deceived me for a moment. It also is preserved in the Cardiff Museum, that other collectors may profit by my mistake. In this, my experience, may be found the real genesis of this chapter, and my insistence upon the value of mannerisms, a knowledge of which will protect the inexperienced against French and other forgeries of these porcelains, such, for instance, as that common variety which is painted with ill-executed

rose blossoms surrounded with gilt leaves, and with or without green foliage, usually as a wreath on the bevel, and the paste of which is practically the same as that of the true thing. It is very often found without a mark, but usually has the word "Nantgarw" impressed in the paste. This variety was all painted in London; some of the white was obtained from Nantgarw, some from Coalport. It is of no artistic value, and its price in the market is the result of agreement between the vendor and the uncritical buyer, without reference to quality or beauty. There is another variety commonly met with which should be avoided, and which is marked with the word "Nantgarw" in red. The application, to these pieces, of verification by mannerisms will finally exclude the whole of them. Some time ago a dealer offered me a very pretty Nantgarw spill-vase, to which I objected. He said it was a perfectly genuine piece of Nantgarw. I admitted it—but it is not painted by any known Nantgarw artist. "Oh," he said, "if you reject all that was not *painted there* you will reject most of it." I assented. "But if they are genuine paste, what does it matter where they were painted?" "It matters everything to me." When he found he could do no business on that basis he said:—"But isn't it clever? I have just had it back from the Potteries, where it has been painted." In order to make the importance of these mannerisms palpable, I will refer the reader to a compound illustration of the auricula, as treated by different artists (see Plate XXVII.).

PANEL AND PART PLATE (FULL SIZE) PAINTED BY BILLINGSLEY.

APPENDIX C.

Porcelain Receipts, etc.

THE following receipts are taken from "The Complete Practical Potter"; Haslem's "Old Derby China Factory"; Shaw's "Chemistry of Pottery"; Young's Diary; Lardner's "Museum"; and Binns' "Century of Potting at Worcester."

There are also an original letter from Mr. Binns; some remarks from Professor Church's "Hand-book of English Porcelain," as to the use of bones in porcelain manufacture; and a few remarks on "hard" and "soft" paste by Mr. Drane.

The Billingsley receipt may or may not be the real Nantgarw secret receipt. It is given as the nearest known to the author. It is probably an approximation or basis. With the materials added as suggested by Mr. Binns, the beautiful and admired porcelain of Nantgarw may perhaps be produced again.

With regard to Young's receipt: it is taken from his diary, and is written in cypher. Several "experts" have been consulted, but they cannot understand it precisely. It was evidently written in characters of his own invention, for his own private reference.

I strongly suspect, if it could be translated, that in it we have Dillwyn's "improved" receipt, and most likely the one used by Young and Pardoe at Nantgarw after they took possession of the place.

I commend the remarks made by Professor Church, and Mr. Drane's observations, to those who wish to have a correct idea of the difference between "hard" and "soft" paste.

"The Complete Practical Potter" (by the late John Taylor, potter). Shelton: Wm. White, publisher, 1847.

EXTRACTS.

Superior China Bodies.

No. 1.—Nant-Garrow (*sic*) China Body.

By Mr. S. Walker.

26 lbs. of bone, pounded and sifted.
14 lbs. of Lynn sand.
2 lbs. of potash.

Mix the above well together with water, and mould them into lumps the size of a brick, and "fritt" them in a hard part of the biscuit oven; and then pound it and grind it for use.

40 lbs. of the above "fritt."
20 lbs. of china clay.

No. 371.—Nant-Garrow (*sic*) China Glaze.

"Fritt."

14 lbs. of china clay.
18 ,, Lynn sand.
14 ,, bone.
13½ ,, felt spar (? felspar).
12½ ,, stone (? china stone).
11½ ,, flint.
110 ,, borax.

Glaze.

110 lbs. of lead to the whole of the "fritt."

NOTE.—This has been long considered a very superior glaze.

No. 439.—Nantgarrow (*sic*) China Glaze.

8 (? parts) Lynn sand.
6 ,, chalk.
2½ ,, stone (? china stone).

10 (? parts) borax.
40 ,, china clay.
3½ ,, felt spar (? felspar).
½ ,, flint.
6 ,, soda.
3 ,, nitre.
Fritted altogether.

No. 250.—Derby Wax China Body ; for Biscuit Figures.

Fired in the Glaze Oven.

20 lbs. Lynn sand.
5 ,, potash.

Fritted hard in the biscuit oven.

4 lbs. of above "fritt."
4 ,, flint.
1 ,, ground glass.
2 ,, china clay.
2 ,, Paris white.

The whole to be ground together fine.

To every 2½ lbs. of the latter add ¼ ounce of soda ; ¼ ounce of gum dissolved and put through a lawn.

Select China Glazes.

No. 1.—C—P. China Glaze.

"Fritt."	Glaze.
40 lbs. borax.	46 lbs. of "fritt."
40 ,, Lynn sand.	15 ,, Cornish stone.
42 ,, felspar.	15 ,, white lead.
24 ,, Cornish stone.	This is a capital glaze.
16 ,, Paris white.	

No. 2.—"Coleport" China Felspar Glaze.

"Fritt."	Glaze.
75 lbs. felspar.*	3 lbs. calcined borax to be added to the "fritt" when sent to the mill.
18 ,, borax.	
4 ,, Lynn sand.	
3 ,, nitre.	
3 ,, soda.	
3 ,, china clay.	
Calcined in china glost oven.	

Rewarded with a gold medal by Society of Arts. The peculiar feature of this glaze was there was no lead or litharge in it.

"The Old Derby China Factory," by John Haslem.—Extracts.

Billingsley's receipts for porcelain :—

No. 1.—*Nantgarw Body.*

Bone	5 lbs.	Mixed and made into bricks and calcined in biscuit kiln.
Lynn sand ...	5 ,,	
Potash	5 ,,	

(*Signed*) W. Billingsley.

No. 2.—*Pinxton Body.*

Bone, 40 lbs.
Lynn sand, 60 lbs.
Potash, 5 lbs.

The latter boiled in water, and the whole mixed together, made into bricks and fritted in biscuit kiln. Afterwards ground and made into Cornish clay in proportion to suit your mind.

No. 1 is a purely "soft" paste—so far as it goes. But Mr. Binns, in a letter to me dated 25th January, 1893, says :—"Your friend's remark about the Nantgarw receipt is correct, the mixture you give is a 'fritt' to be used along with china clay, glass, etc., according to old receipts. I have not got the old receipt, but it might run something like this :—

* Professor Church says 27 lbs. felspar.

"Take of the 'fritt' 5 lbs.
Clays (two sorts) 5 lbs.
Glass ... ... 5 lbs.
} grind and mix.

This would make a body, but not such as we use now."

It would seem, therefore, that No. 1 was only a base or "fritt"; other ingredients were required, and this is confirmed to a certain extent by the remarks added to No. 2 receipt.

The use of bones of animals in the manufacture of porcelain is a particular feature of the English production. In calcination, of course, the result is simply phosphate of lime. Its first use has often been attributed to Josiah Spode, the younger, about the years 1797-1800. But Professor Church disposes of that assumption by referring to the Bow patent of 1748, taken out by Thomas Frye. He also shows that analyses of porcelain made at Chelsea, Worcester, Liverpool, and Caughley, in the second half of the eighteenth century, prove that the use of bone-ash was widely extended at that period. He cites a receipt given in "The Handmaid of the Arts for 1758," as follows:—

"The following composition will produce ware which will have the properties of the true china, if they be rightly managed in the manufacture. Take of the best white sand or calcined flints finely powdered, 20 lbs., add to it of very white pearl-ashes 5 lbs., of bones calcined to perfect whiteness, 2 lbs."

This seems to be somewhat like Billingsley's receipts for the Pinxton and Nantgarw bodies. Perhaps it was the foundation of both. Rather singularly, it was published in the year of his birth.

"The Chemistry of Pottery," by Dr. S. Shaw.—Extract.

"*Nantgarw Body.*
Lynn sand.
Potash.
Other components.

"Produced a porcelain which, as an artificial felspar, has some excellence, and approaches nearest real felspar."

This receipt is somewhat similar to that given by Haslem, who obtained his copy from Mr. Hancock, of Worcester, who, it is said, had Billingsley's receipts.

Young's Diary, 1820-21.—Extract.

Jan. 18, 1821.	Feb. 8, 1821.
Trial No. 1.—Glaze.	Glaze No. 1.
m × 1	*m* × 1
v 2	*v* 1¼
No. 2.	Frit No. 1.—Mar. 3.
m × 1	In muffle at house.
v 1½	5 lbs. — — 4 lbs.
No. 3.	Sticking Stuff.—Mar. 3.
m × 1	1 glaze frit.
v 1	½ glass.
	½ Cornwall stone.
Body.	Body.
No. 1.	No. 1.
v 4	*v*— 16 — 4 0 0
× *v* 2	Not tried × *v* — 4 — 1 0 0
l × ½	Do. — 3 — ¾ 0 0
No. 2.	Feb. 20, 1821.
v 4	No. 2.
× *v* 1	*v* —16— 4 0 0
l × ½	× *v* — 2 — ½ 0 0
	l × — 3 — ¾ 0 0
	Glaze kiln.

Mixture for working—Frit — 5 — B — 1.

Glaze Trial. January 21, 1821.

Frit No. 1—Some old Frit.
No. 1—1 Frit, 1 lead and glass.
No. 2—1 do. 1½ do.
Frit No. 2—1 part *v*, 1 part calcined MX.
No. 3—1 frit, 1 lead and glass.
No. 4—1 do. 2 do. do.

27 parts	felspar	To be fritted.
18 ,,	borax	
4 ,,	Lynn sand	
3 ,,	nitre	
3 ,,	soda	
3 ,,	Cornwall clay	

3 parts of calcined borax to be added in the grinding.

NOTE.—The latter is evidently a copy made by Young of the prize glaze of Mr. Rose at Coalport, without lead or litharge.

Lardner's Museum.—Extract.

Pâte tendre of Sèvres.

Fused nitre (mineral crystals)	22	0
Grey sea salt	7	2
Alum	3	6
Soda of Alicant	3	6
Gypsum of Montmartre (plaster of Paris) ...	3	6
Sand of Fontainebleau	60	0
	100	0

These materials were fritted in the porcelain oven. The dough called *pâte tendre* was formed thus :—

Frit (as above) ...	75	parts.
Chalk	17	,,
Gypseous earth ...	8	,,
	100	

Whiteness and hardness modified by the proportion of chalk. The materials kneaded, bruised in water mill, then passed through silken sieves.

The glaze used for this "biscuit" was :—

Litharge	38
Calcined sand of Fontainebleau ...	27
Calcined silex	11
Subcarbonate of potash	15
Do. soda	9
	100

12 per cent. black soap and parchment size mixed to give consistency.

The word *tendre* means :—(1) That it is fusible at a certain temperature ; (2) that the glaze is so soft it can be scratched by a knife.

(NOTE.—As Nantgarw ware was considered equal to Sèvres ware, a comparison can be made of the constituents given of each.)

The following is an extract from Professor Church's "Handbook of English Porcelain" :—

"Beginning with kaolin or china-clay (which has been called the bones of china, as china-stone or pe-tun-tse, its flesh), it should be stated that this forms the infusible or 'refractory' part of porcelain. It was named *Marga porcellana* by the Swedish mineralogist Wallerius, in 1747 ; in 1758 Cronstedt described it as *terra porcellana*. It is the result of the alteration of many minerals containing alumina, notably of the felspars. Some specimens, the purest, contain in 100 parts, 46 parts of silica, 39½ of alumina, 14 of water, and but ½ a part of magnesia, lime, potash, soda, and iron, the non-essential parts of the clay. But kaolin is rarely so pure as this, retaining usually more than traces of the potash and soda present in the minerals from which it has been

formed, as well as other impurities. The purer it is the less fusible it is, and the whiter. Now the china-stone, or pe-tun-tse, is commonly an altered granite. It is not only of more complex constitution than kaolin, but its variations in composition are greater. It consists in great proportion of slightly altered felspar, of a micaceous mineral, and of silica in the form of quartz ; it also contains some kaolin. It is fusible at a high temperature, owing to the alkalies it contains. Felspar, which is one of the minerals in Cornish-stone or pe-tun-tse, is also employed alone or in admixture with other substance in glazing hard porcelain, and in the body or paste of so-called Parian china. It should be added that pipe-clay and many other clays are generally impure varieties of kaolin. To the above-named natural substances used in the making of porcelain must be added soapstone or steatite, a silicate of magnesia containing, in 100 parts, about 62 of silica, 33 of magnesia, and 5 of water. Bone-ash, a most important part of all English soft porcelain, is prepared by burning bones in contact with air, and contains in 100 parts, 83 of phosphate of lime, 12 of carbonate of lime, and 1 of flouride of calcium. The other constituents of soft porcelain are mostly such as heated together form a kind of glass."

Extract from note dated 20th Sept., 1896, on "hard" and "soft" paste, by Mr. Drane, of Cardiff:—

Hard paste means much kaolin, with a very high fusing point. Soft paste means little or no kaolin, and a low fusing point. But high or low are still relative and not positive qualities. Put a Sèvres bowl of *pâte tendre*, or a Nantgarw one, into an Oriental or Dresden bowl, and submit them to a very high temperature. The Sèvres and Nantgarw will fuse in the Oriental or Dresden one, while the latter retain their forms unaltered by the heat. But there are degrees of fusibility between them according to the proportion of kaolin. Bone (or phosphate of

lime) was used to produce a half-way house between these extremes. It does not *fuse* and *combine* with the other constituents of the body, but it forms a mixture which, in accordance with its percentage, will form a harder or softer paste with a characteristic fracture in proportion to its kaolin—having a "bulb of percussion" like flint. Soft paste will give a fracture without any evidence of a "bulb of percussion," and so is called granular. But it is difficult to fix the limit of each character, or to define it with practical precision. . . . Glass and hard paste will each give a conchoidal fracture under proper conditions, and they are the opposite extremes to each other. Nantgarw and *pâte tendre* are more or less distinctly granular; Oriental and Dresden conchoidal. Phosphatic china is midway, and with all degrees of difference, till one cannot say which is hard and which is soft, which is conchoidal and which is granular. But the hardest paste contains most kaolin, and the softest the least kaolin; the hardest paste requires the highest, and the softest paste requires the lowest temperature for fusion. . . . Broadly speaking, hard paste will cut a file and produce black dust; soft paste will be cut by a file and produce a white dust. . . . It is true that phosphate of lime cannot be decomposed by silica, and therefore no paste containing phosphate of lime can be true hard paste; but it will be hard or harder according to the percentage of kaolin and the temperature necessary for their admixture by fusion. Hard paste will contain no flux such as potash; soft paste must contain such flux to become a homogeneous body.

* * * * * * *

It is not correct to say that English porcelain is soft because of the large percentage of bone or phosphate which it contains. It is the flux or percentage of alkali or alkaline earths (lime and magnesia) which are the true elements of its relative softness. Little or no bone (phosphate of lime) and large percentage of

kaolin, with little alkali (potash or soda) : hard paste and a high temperature in the kiln. Much alkali, much silica, little or no kaolin : low temperature and soft paste.

* * * * * * *

I am not sure that it is safe to say hard paste is natural and soft paste is artificial, because it is impossible to fix the division line between them, nor can you define "artificial" very easily. You cannot separate organic from inorganic chemistry.

* * * * * * *

Doubtless if silica and alumina (? the main constituents of kaolin or china clay) were artificially combined they would make *hard* porcelain in proportion to their percentage. But no one would make this compound when it can be obtained easily, largely, and naturally, *i.e.*, at one-tenth of the cost. The compounding in the laboratory or by nature is simply a question of cost. Silicate of alumina in nature is abundant and cheap ; in the laboratory it would be absurdly costly.

Condensed Extract from "The Old Derby China Factory," by John Haslem :—

At page 6, Mons. Leon Arnoux is quoted on the question of soft paste. Mons. Arnoux was Art Director at Minton's, Stoke, in the "fifties," and an authority on such matters. A summary is as follows :—He says (after alluding to the efforts made centuries ago by the Europeans to imitate or discover the secret of Oriental porcelain) it was in the trials to make Chinese porcelain that the "soft" bodies were discovered. They fritted a pure silicious sand with salts of potash, soda, lime, and alumina. The "frit" was very white and had no hydrate of potash to make it plastic. They added a white calcareous clay : it altered the whiteness and translucency, and was used sparingly. Soft soap and gums were used to give plasticity. But the processes

were long, unhealthy, and expensive. This body was covered with a glaze made of white sand, potash, and lead.

This "soft" porcelain was the very perfection of beauty, with its glaze amalgamating with the colours used. The surface paint sank in so well that it seemed under it, and acquired a perfect brilliancy.

But he adds (*temp.* 1851) that the old fritted bodies were supplanted in England when Cookworthy found the true kaolin in Cornwall (? about 1768). The vitreous body was superseded by the true ceramic process. Spode, in 1800,* revived the use of bones, and his example spread. The English "soft" porcelain emerged from its transition state and became one of the most beautiful productions of the country.

* See page 325 as to dates in the use of bones.

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